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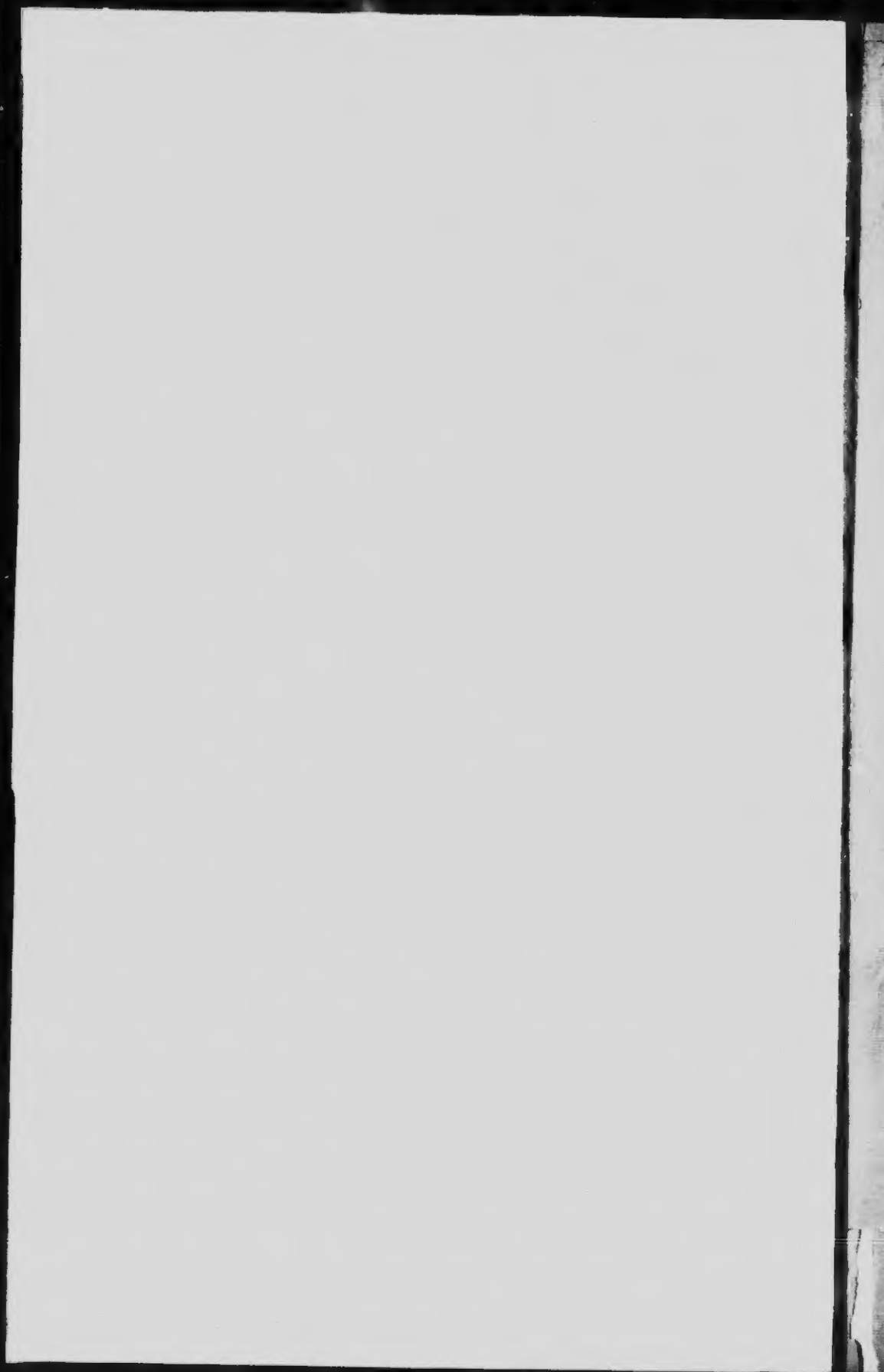
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FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

SECOND SERIES—1902-1903

VOLUME VIII

SECTION IV

ENGLISH HISTORY, LITERATURE, ARCHÆOLOGY, ETC.

DOCHET (ST. CROIX) ISLAND

A MONOGRAPH

By W. F. GANONG, M.A., Ph.D.



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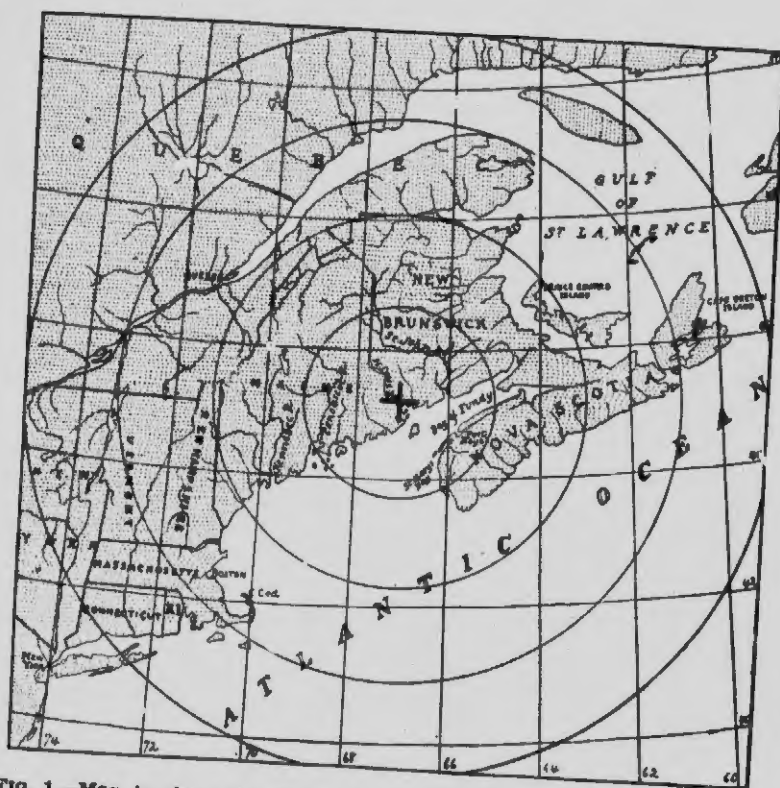
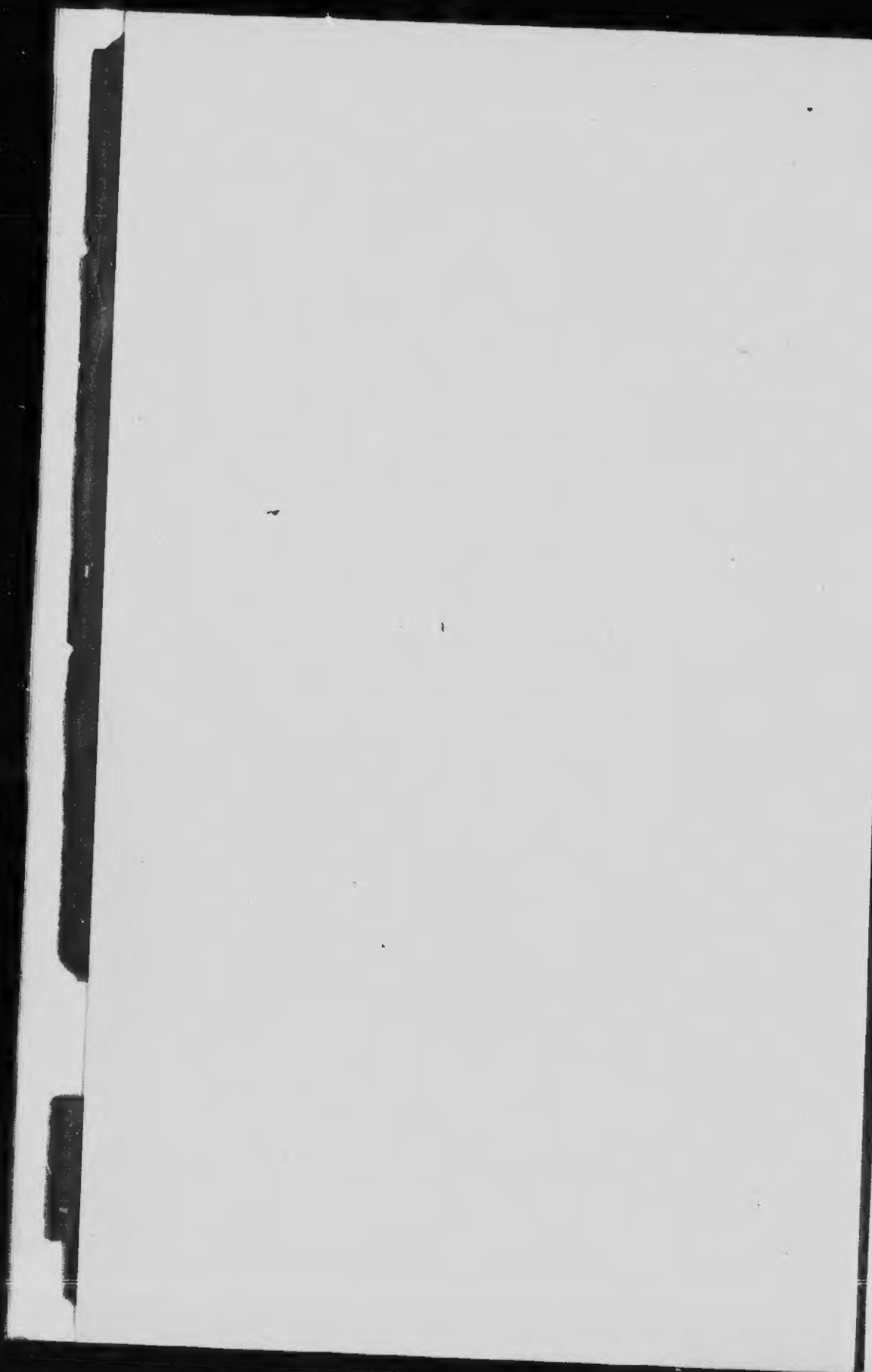


FIG. 1.—Map to show the geographical position of Docket Island. It lies in the centre of the cross and of the circles. The circles are of one, two, three and four hundred miles radius.





VI.—*Docket (St. Croix) Island,—A Monograph.*

By W. I. GANONG, M.A., PH.D.

(Read May 27, 1902.)

INTRODUCTION.

GEOGRAPHY.

GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

NAMES.

MAPS.

LITERATURE.

HISTORY.

1. The Acadian Period, 1604-1632.
2. The Boundary Discussions, 1796-1799.
3. The Modern Period, 1799-1902.
4. The Future.

In the beautiful River St. Croix, near to where it empties into the Bay of Passamaquoddy, lies a little island, justly celebrated as one of the most interesting historical localities in this part of America. It is the site of de Monts' ill-fated colony of 1604, and hence witnessed the real beginning of the permanent settlement of Canada; later it became again prominent in the discussions between the United States and Great Britain over their boundaries, and was the chief determinant in fixing the St. Croix as the international boundary; while other events in its annals are not without at least local importance. Though thus of interest to many people, its full history has not yet been written, and the materials for it are scattered and inaccessible, or even, in no small part, existent only in manuscript or tradition. It is the object of this paper to set forth, as accurately, fully and clearly as the writer may be able, all that is known of the history of this island.¹

¹ At this point I desire to acknowledge, with my best thanks, the very kind assistance I have received from several gentlemen in the preparation of this paper. Especially do I wish to mention the indispensable and skilled bibliographical aid I have received in generous abundance from my friend Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the Lenox Library, and the cordial co-operation of Rev. Dr. Raymond, of St. John, who allowed me the free use of the valuable records of the Boundary Commission in his possession, with permission to publish such of them as I chose. I have had valued information, too, from Captain Joseph Huckins, the present keeper of the lighthouse on the island, from Mr. James Vroom, of St. Stephen, and from Rev. Joseph Lee, of Red Beach. It may not be inappropriate to add that I have myself been familiar with the island and its surroundings from early boyhood, and it is therefore with particular satisfaction that I have found myself privileged to write its history.

GEOGRAPHY.

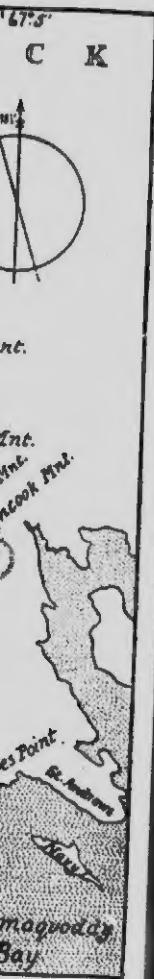
The St. Croix River, once nearly the centre of ancient Acadia is now from source to mouth a part of the international boundary between the United States and Canada, between the State of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick (Fig. 1). Its mouth, as legally



FIG. 2.—Map to show the surroundings of Dochet Island.

established and accepted by custom, is at Joes Point near St. Andrews on Passamaquoddy Bay (Fig. 2), but as a matter of geographical fact, it is farther north at the Devils Head, the part between these two points, some seven miles in length, and one and a half to two miles

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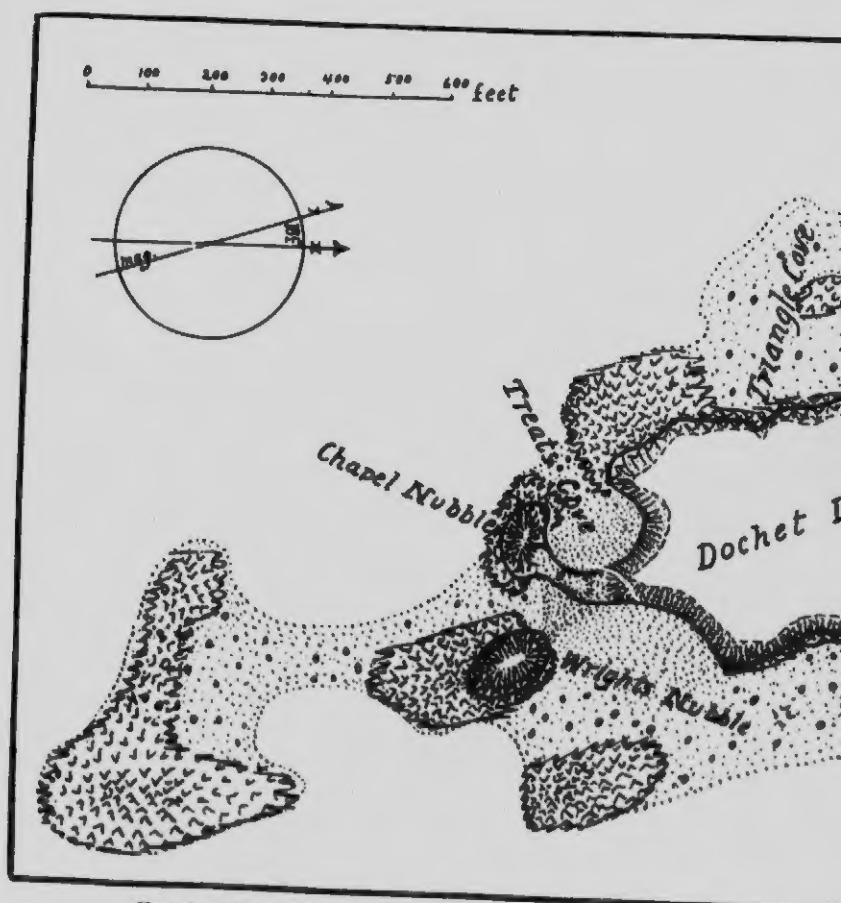


FIG. 3.—Map of Docket Island with its surrounding ledges. From a



edges. From a survey by the author in September, 1902.

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in breadth, is really but an arm of the sea, salt and tidal. Nearly midway of this estuary, and midway, too, between its banks, lies Dochet Island, in latitude $45^{\circ} 07' 44''$, and longitude $67^{\circ} 08' 03''$. The deepest channel is on the eastward, thus making the island a part of the United States.

The situation of the island is extremely beautiful. Both banks of the river, clothed with well-cultivated farms interspersed with lines and groups of trees and large areas of forest, slope upward into ridges and hills, culminating in Greenlaw and Chamcook, whose abrupt sides and rocky summits rise above six hundred feet from the tide. To the northward one looks into Oak Bay with its prominent island and distant shores framed by the nearer Devil's Head, wooded and abrupt, and the lofty hills of the Canadian shore. To the southward beyond the widening banks, lies Passamaquoddy, and over it, faint and far, the low hills of Deer Island. Seen at its best, on soft summer days, there is much colour in the landscape, a bright blue sky and a deep blue sea, a dark green of the forest and a bright green of the fields, and here and there a red and a brown of the rocks. It is a goodly country, fair to see, the very perfection of quiet new world scenery, never losing its charm for those who have known it.

The island is a very small one (Fig. 3), less than 300 yards (about one-sixth of a mile) in length in its main part, or less than 400 yards including the partially detached "Nubbles,"¹ and not over 125 yards in extreme breadth. It encloses in the main part about 5 acres. The highest point, on a rocky ledge a little to the east of its centre (Fig. 14), is about 52 feet above extreme high tide mark,² or about 62 feet above mean tide level. From this point there is a slope in all directions, at first (on the rocky part) abrupt, but soon, (on the soil parts) more level. The entire island is, however, markedly tilted towards the westward, so that while the eastern shore is a continuous bluff rising nearly 40 feet above high tide, on the west it slopes in places almost down to high tide level. These features of slope are well illustrated in the accompanying photographs (Figs. 17, 18). The eastern bluffs of the island are of clay and sand, bearing a dense growth of small trees and resting upon granite rock except at the southern end, where an abrupt treeless bluff of sand without vegetation has no visible rock, but only sand, beneath it. The low shore of the western side shows a thin soil resting upon rock, and bearing but a few scanty bushes and very small trees, while the remainder of the island, all fair soil excepting the rocky band of ledges across

¹ Nubble is a word used frequently in this region for small semi-detached islets.

² According to levels taken by myself.

it, is cleared and cultivated as garden, or utilized as pasture (Fig. 14). At the southern end of the main island stand two partially isolated "Nubbles," obviously once a part of the main island, consisting of masses of sand and clay, heavily wooded with small trees, resting upon granitic rocks. The larger is now cut off from the main island at every high tide, but the smaller is still attached to it by a low ridge of sand, never, or extremely rarely, crossed by the tide. Around the

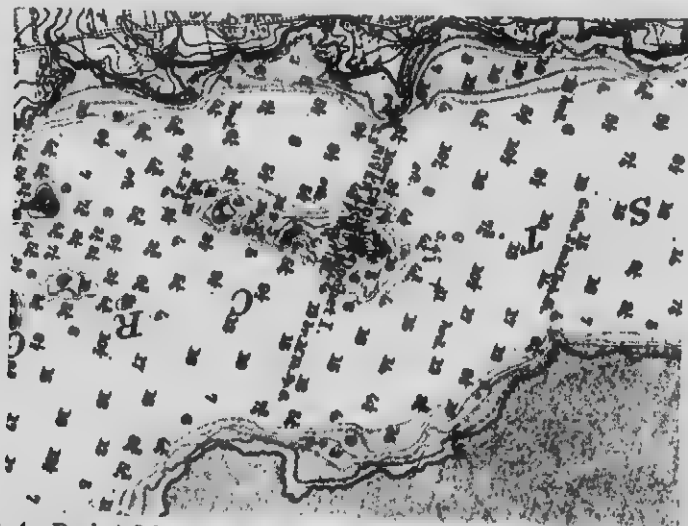


FIG. 4.—Dochet Island and its immediate surroundings. From the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart No. 300, the largest and best published map of the Island. Original size. It is set in this position in order to allow of better comparison with the maps of figures 3, 8, 12, 14, and hence, like them, is adjusted to the magnetic meridian, with north at the right and west at the top.

islands are many ledges, shown on the maps (Figs. 3, 4), connected with one another by sand, gravel and boulders, extending on the eastward into a remarkable, long, sandy point. Beyond the low-tide limits of these ledges, as a rule, the shores slope down rather abruptly to the greater depths of the river; so that the ledges as a whole represent a rather distinct and marked elevation above the general bed of the river.

The only buildings upon the island are those of the United States Light Station, comprising a house with the lantern, carrying a revolving flash light, upon its roof, and various lesser buildings connected with the station, together with a small shed used by the weir fishermen (Fig. 14). The only residents are the keeper of the light and his family.

GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

The history of any place is deeply influenced by the physical environment, and some knowledge of this is essential to a full understanding of the course of historic events. We must note, therefore, the natural circumstances and productions of Dohet Island.

Geology. Geologically, Dohet Island consists of a base and core of solid rock rising to over fifty feet above high tide level, resting upon which is a mass of clay sand and gravel (Fig. 5). The basal rock, which may be seen nearly everywhere about the island, is a red



FIG. 5.—Ideal median section through Dohet Island, as seen from the east. The horizontal line is that of high tide; the soil is dotted and the rock shown by angles. At the left may be seen Wright's Nubble, and next it the sand bluff.

granite, like that forming the western bank of the river, and believed by geologists to be of Devonian age and intrusive origin.¹

A question of very great interest now arises, as to the origin, or mode of formation, of the isolated rocky mass which forms the basis of the island. Why does it exist here, rising abruptly from the bed of a great river with deep water all about it? At present, owing to insufficient geological study of the region, this question cannot be answered with any certainty, but clues exist which will enable us to form at least a theory of some probability. The rock of which the island is composed seems plainly to be intrusive Devon-

¹ The Geological Survey (of Canada) map of Charlotte County, the only one yet published which colours the island, makes it Silurian, which is an error. There appear to be two bands of granite on the island, one of lighter red colour and coarser texture forming the northern end and western side, and the other of darker red colour and much finer grain forming the eastern margin, together with the southern end and the ledges to the southward. An approximate contact line between them may be traced along the eastern shore. While the western coast of the river is composed of this same granite, the eastern shore is not, at least not opposite the island, suggesting that a fault line, or line of contact must run, doubtless following the deeper channel, along the river on the eastward of the island, a line which may be connected with the formation of this part of the river and its extension into Oak Bay. Little Dohet Island, on the other hand, is of very different formation, being a coarse conglomerate supposedly belonging to the Lower Carboniferous formation (newer than the Devonian), and it is probable that the line of contact between the two formations lies in the deep channel between the two islands.

ian granite, that is, granite which forced its way upwards in a molten state from deep in the earth, filling gaps and areas of weakness caused by movements of the earth's crust in the older Silurian rocks. Now, at this time, it is fairly certain, the St. Croix river did not exist, and the present river bed was filled with Silurian rocks; or, more correctly, the river bed had not yet been cut out of the rocks. On the present site of the island there was probably some gap, or fault-line, in the Silurian rocks, and into this the molten granite was forced from below, just as it was in many other isolated masses now forming hills in this region. Later, in the course of the ages, the St. Croix river began to flow over this place, and gradually, by the slow but resistless process of erosion, aided by the presence of contact and fault-lines, cut down the rocks until the river bed reached the granitic mass now forming the island. After that it cut out the softer Silurian rocks around it much faster than it could cut the hard granite itself, so that finally the granitic mass was left as a hill rising from a plain of the softer rocks. Then the land sank, and the sea entered this valley to such a depth that the top of the hill only was left above the surface; and this is the probable origin of the rocky part of Dochet Island.

The soil resting upon these rocks is of glacial origin. It is known to geologists that in the glacial period, some thirty or more thousands of years since, a sheet of ice several thousands of feet in thickness moved southeastward over this region. This ice smoothed these granite rocks, as may be seen beautifully at the north end of the island, and would have left them but naked rounded ledges had not the same ice sheet carried an abundance of soil ground from the rocks in its passage, which soil was deposited, especially as it melted, around and in the lee of the core of the island. The glacial movement on the island was almost exactly true southeast (a trifle east), as is clearly shown by the course of the glacial grooves on the north end of the island; this is why the great mass of the soil of the island lies on the southeast side of the rocky axis in the form of a long point ending in an abrupt bluff (Fig. 5), precisely such a point as is found in similar situations near by at Sand Point, Oak Point, Navy Island and elsewhere. The fact that this soil is mostly fine, thus forming good agricultural land, indicates that its deposition took place in quiet water. Had the conditions been different, and a coarse boulder soil replaced it, Dochet Island might have had no history. Only a few boulders exist on and around the island. Those above the tide, notably the huge one to the northward of the lighthouse, were, of course, brought here by the glacial ice from far to the northward at the time the soil was laid down, which explains their composition out of rock different from that

of the island. Those below high tide were, no doubt, brought for the most part at the same time, though some of them may have been drifted by floating ice in recent times from the mainland up the river. Following the glacial period this region was submerged beneath the sea, during which time this glacial soil was, no doubt, more or less worked over and given the final details of its levels and character.

The soil of the island consists of sand and clay much intermingled, and forming a fine agricultural soil of fair quality on which garden crops thrive well, a fact of some importance in its history. The intermingling of the clay and sand, instead of its separation into beds, makes the soil very pervious to water; and this, together with its shallowness, does not allow the presence of springs, nor the possibility of good wells, a fact which had, as we shall see, a great influence upon the early history of the island.¹

The surface of the island, as already mentioned, slopes to near the water's edge on the western side of the island, but elsewhere ends in bluffs of soil descending steeply to the rocks beneath, or to the sandy beach. The bluffs on the north and east sides are covered with small trees, but on the south the vegetation is wanting, and the bluff of sand and clay is so abrupt (Fig. 20, 24) that the least disturbance is enough to bring it down in an avalanche. Now, the foot of this bluff which rests on the sand beach, and the feet of others on the rocks as well, are washed by the waves at the highest tides, and they are obviously being eaten away by the waves and tide. That a washing away of the island is steadily going on is attested not only by the universal testimony of residents in the vicinity, but also by a comparison of the several existent maps of the island, which also afford a fair measure of its amount. If we compare the ancient map of 1604 made by Champlain (Fig. 8), with the much later map by Wright (Fig. 12), and with the two modern maps of 1885 and 1902 (Figs. 13, 3), a subject made the plainer if they are reduced to the same scale and superposed as in the accompanying figures (Figs. 6 and 14²), it will be seen that in three hundred years the island has lost little on its northern and western sides, but has lost greatly at its southern end and on the southwest, where large sections of the island, including the site of the cemetery of 1604 and the knoll on which de Monts mounted his cannon, together with much of the island north of

¹ The light-keeper has to rely for his water supply upon reservoirs filled by the rain collected from the roof of his house.

² Champlain's map, being sketchy and in some ways inaccurate, must be altered somewhat to fit the actual form of the island. It is, however, given exactly in Fig. 6, but in Fig. 14 it is altered to accord as nearly as possible with what must have been the real form of the island.

Wright's Nubble, have been totally removed¹ (Fig. 14). That this process is still going on is shown by the fact that every year the light-keeper notes some backward movement of the southern bluff, and also by the fact that the site of a well, within twenty years surrounded by the upland and of some use in wet times, is now marked by a ring of stones on the rocky beach several feet from the nearest upland (Fig. 14). Since the soil of the island extended so far beyond its present limits within historic times, it is a natural inference that in yet earlier periods it extended still farther, and covered the neighbouring ledges, not only those on the south, but those on the north and west as well;

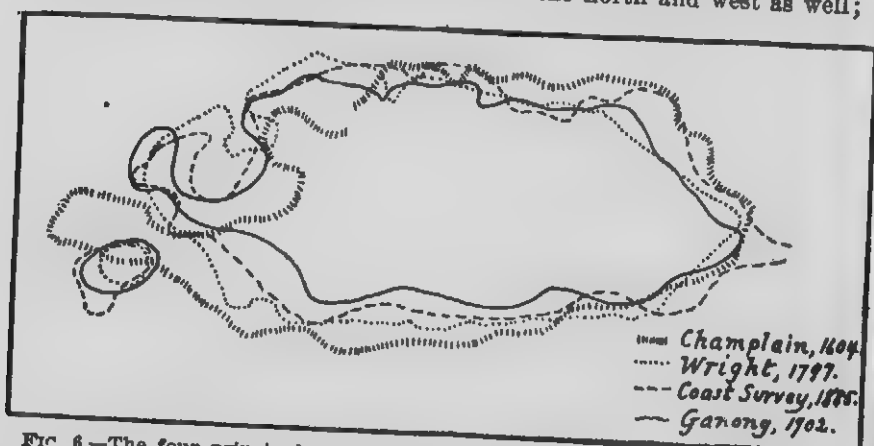


FIG. 6.—The four principal maps of Dochet Island reduced to the same scale and superposed.

but it is unlikely that it ever extended, as locally often stated, to include Little Dochet Island, for there is a deep-water channel between. Now, a continuous washing away of an island after this manner is known by geologists to be possible only where the coast is sinking beneath the sea, and of such a sinking in this region there is much other evidence.² The rate of the subsidence is not known, but it is probably between one and two feet a century. The rocky base of the island, doubtless, stood five or six feet higher above the tide in Champlain's time than now; and in still earlier times it was yet higher, so that all of the

¹ The removal is not wholly natural, for prior to 1865 much sand was removed to the mainland for building purposes, though in an amount inconsiderable in comparison with that which has been washed away.

² Summarized in a note by the present writer in the Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. XIX., 1901, 339. It is of interest to note that one of the pieces of evidences cited in that article is derived from this island, namely,—on Wright's map (Fig. 12) a certain ledge is described as "somewhat green at its top," implying that it then bore vegetation, whereas now it is bare of vegetation, and apparently overwashed by the highest tides.

ledges around the island were probably formerly covered with soil raised above the reach of the tide. Since the subsidence appears to be still going on, we can foresee the time when the soil of the island will, unless artificially prevented, be entirely washed away, leaving behind but a series of bare rocky ledges. This, however, is still far in the future, and engineering skill can, by the use of retaining walls and other appropriate devices, preserve the island practically unchanged for many a century to come.

Tides.—The tides at the island, as determined by the United States Coast Survey and recorded upon their charts (Chart No. 300), have an average vertical range of 19.9 feet. The range of the highest spring tides is between 22 and 23 feet. These tides cause currents in the river of some two miles an hour at the extreme, a rate sometimes troublesome but never dangerous to navigation, even by small boats. The appearance of the island changes much with the tides, for the reefs are so elevated and extensive that when the sea is out the size of the island is increased several fold (Fig. 3) by an irregular margin, in places of rock clad with brown seaweed, and elsewhere of boulders or sand, while at high tide but little is to be seen beyond the margin of the soil of the main island and the nubbles, which then seem to float lightly upon the waves.¹

Climate.—The climate of the island may be described in general terms as that characteristic of a place half way between equator and pole, on the eastern margin of a continent; but it is modified in the present case by the very cold water which occupies the deep arm of the sea in which the island lies. Hence it presents a marked alternation between a cold winter and a warm summer, but without great extremes, and in summer it is considerably cooler than normal for its latitude. The keeper of the light-house on the island, who has noted the temperature daily for over twenty years past, informs me that the coldest days of winter are about -10° F., but an extreme of -28° F. has been noted, and the hottest days of summer average about 85° , with a recorded extreme of 92° . A very satisfactory idea of the climate of the island can be gathered from the records kept at St. Andrews, N.B., which, only six miles away and seated upon the end of a long peninsula projecting into Passamaquoddy Bay, must have a climate nearly identical with that of the island. The climate of St. Andrews, as shown by the averages for a large series of years, is,

¹ In the map, Fig. 3, the high tide mark is shown by the continuous line, and low tide by the marginal dotted lines. The angles indicate rocky ledges, the circles boulders, and the dots sand. The broken line shows the outline of the grassy or wooded upland.

according to a table supplied to me by the Meteorological Office of Canada, as follows:—

ST. ANDREWS.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Average
Mean highest.....	30.0	29.8	36.5	48.4	59.1	67.3	71.6	64.9	53.7	44.0	34.2	51.1	
Mean lowest.....	10.0	10.4	20.0	29.6	38.9	47.2	52.8	47.2	37.5	27.9	14.4	32.3	
Mean temperature..	20.0	20.1	28.3	39.0	49.0	57.4	62.2	56.0	45.6	36.0	24.3	41.7	
Mean daily range..	20.0	19.4	16.5	18.8	20.2	20.4	21.3	18.8	17.7	16.1	19.8	18.8	
Absolutely highest	53.3	49.3	49.8	67.7	86.6	87.6	92.7	89.6	81.1	73.6	61.7	92.7	
Absolutely lowest.	-19.4	-18.1	-2.4	9.6	29.3	37.6	45.2	44.2	33.0	20.3	3.1	-14.4	
Percent. of cloud..	46	47	51	45	46	42	44	43	40	47	51	50	
Precipitation (Inch)	4.25	3.86	3.98	2.34	3.15	3.00	3.20	3.22	2.56	3.52	3.32	3.76	

From these figures it will be plain that the summer climate is always cool,¹ with much sunshine and a moderate amount of rain. The winter, likewise, is generally moderate, though it may at times become severe. Often the winters are so mild that little ice forms in the vicinity of the island; but at times they become so severe that much ice forms over the nearly pure salt water about the island, and it occasionally, though very rarely, happens that a complete ice bridge, across which one can walk, forms from the island to the shore at Red Beach, and there are all gradations between these extremes. It not infrequently happens that the floating ice makes it difficult or even unsafe to cross from the island in a small boat, especially when there is any wind.

As to other features of the climate, there is occasional fog in summer, though not in winter. The precipitation of over 40 inches is a fair amount for a temperate region.

The importance of these facts to our present subject lies in the effect of the climate upon the settlement of de Monts in 1604. The full account of that winter left us by Champlain and Lescarbot, and given later in this paper, shows that it must have been one of marked,

¹ The coolness of the summer above-mentioned is due in part at least to the coldness of the surrounding sea water throughout the summer. No figures are available, but it is a fact that the water is always much too cold for comfortable bathing, so I presume it does not rise above 60°F. The coldness is due primarily to the depth of the neighbouring waters in combination with the strength of the tidal currents, which continually stir up the colder bottom water, thus preventing the warming up of the surface. And this is perhaps aided through the bringing in by the tides of the cold currents descending from the north along the Nova Scotia coast.

if not of extreme, severity. This, without doubt, more than anything else, determined the abandonment of the St. Croix as the site of a settlement. Had the first, and the few later winters, been as mild as are often experienced in this vicinity, it is quite likely that this region, if not the island itself, would have remained the centre of French settlement and power in Acadia, in which case its later history, and perhaps its status to-day, would have been markedly different.

Natural History.—The natural history of the island presents nothing peculiar, so far as I can find. No attempt has yet been made to list the plants or animals. The plants which naturally occur there are the common trees of the vicinity, pines, spruces, firs, maples, birches, mountain ash, cedar, and (formerly) oak, thus comprising the most useful trees native to the region. With these grow certain shrubs and many common herbs, including a fringe of the common salt plants around the margin of the salt water, together with many plants of cultivation in garden and field. On the rocks between tide marks grows a great profusion of the brown rock weed, and many other forms of the seaweeds, or Algæ, occur there.

Of animal life there is little on the island, but much in the waters around it. The larger land mammals are wanting, and probably, owing to the lack of fresh water, never regularly lived there. In the sea around the island, however, the porpoise is frequently, and the whale occasionally to be seen, as in Champlain's day,¹ and seals also occur, and breed on the ledges about the island. The common birds of the neighbourhood, the sea-gulls and the song birds, of course, are present, but no game birds of any importance now occur there. Reptiles appear to be quite absent, with the possible exception of small newts. Of the fishes, of course no fresh-water forms occur, but about the island swarms an extreme abundance of all the valuable salt-water food fishes of the region, cod, pollock, haddock, halibut, mackerel, salmon, etc., so that from the early days of the permanent settlement the island has been a valuable fishing station, and there is a weir for herring upon it at the present day. Amongst the fishes occurs the useless but rather striking sculpin, which seems to have attracted the attention of Champlain, for he represents it upon his map (Fig. 8). Without doubt, this abundance of fish in its waters was one important factor in determining its adoption by de Monts as the site of his settlement of 1604. Passing now to the lower groups of animals, the common field and garden insects occur on the island, though none of them are of especial importance. The mosquitos which so troubled de Monts' party in 1604 are now well-nigh absent and never troublesome in the cleared condition of the island. Of

¹ See his map, Fig. 8.

more importance are the marine animals, especially the shell-fish, upon the flats and reefs about the island. In the sand flats occurs a great abundance of good clams, and with them great beds of the common mussels, an animal much eaten in Europe, though little esteemed in this country. The abundance of these forms is emphasized by Champlain¹ and by Lescarbot,² and is noted upon Wright's map of 1797 (Fig. 12); and, without doubt, it had much to do with the selection of the island as the site of the settlement in 1604. With these, and on the rocks between tide marks, occur many other forms of lesser economic importance,—three or four forms of sea-snails, limpets, sea-urchins, star-fishes, jelly-fishes, barnacles, and so many others³ as to make the zoology of the island a very interesting study, and the island itself an excellent situation for some scientific station for the study of marine life. In this connection it is worth noting that there has been found upon the island and in Oak Bay a southern form of star-fish, not elsewhere known in this region north of Casco Bay, which fact, taken with other evidence, proves the former occurrence here of an interesting southern colony of animals now nearly extinct.⁴

Natives.—Among the other natural productions of the region we must include its wild men. The Indians of this region were, and are, of the Passamaquoddy tribe, a portion of the race called by Champlain, the Etechemins, and by modern writers, the Abenaki. They have always formed but a sparse population, of mild and inoffensive disposition; and never in the history of the Passamaquoddy region have their hands been raised against the white settlers, French or English. Fear of these Indians, now known to have been groundless, but very real to the French, was one of the causes leading to the selection of the easily defended island by de Monts as the site of his settlement in 1604.

Effect of environment on early history.—We may now summarize briefly the effect of the natural facts and phenomena just considered upon the island's history, which all hinges upon its selection by de Monts as the site of his settlement in 1604, as fully related in the following pages.

Why then was the island selected? In the first place, standing as it does, a small but elevated island all alone in the very middle of a large river, it is a striking place with a distinctive and individual character. Thus it would attract the immediate attention of

¹ See later, page 168.

² See later, page 182.

³ These forms of animal life have been fully treated for this region in various articles in the Bulletins of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, later mentioned, page 152.

⁴ Considered in the aforementioned Bulletin, IX., 1890, page 54.

de Monts, who, for weeks had been searching in rivers and bays for some place of marked individuality as the site of his proposed settlement. The climate at the time of the discovery was perfect, giving no hint of the winter severity. Its situation, moreover, is extremely pleasing, more so, as I believe, than that of any place, not excepting Port Royal (Annapolis Basin), he had met with in his explorations so far, a point of no small importance to the impressionable Frenchman. Examined more closely, the island was found large enough for a settlement, but small enough, and of a nature, to be easily defended from an enemy, especially from the Indians, whose hostility was greatly but needlessly feared, while its situation commanded an extensive view in every direction, making it safe from surprises. Its surface was elevated and healthful and nearly flat, affording a good site for dwellings, while it was covered with the best of timber ready on the ground for use in building. The soil was mostly fertile, promising well for gardens. Its clean sand beaches afforded good landing places for boats, and there was a sheltered harbour for small vessels, while the shores supplied an abundance of edible shell-fish always available, and the sea around swarmed with the most valuable food fishes. The only drawback to the situation visible in the summer was the scarcity of water, and perhaps of fuel; but apparently bountiful supplies of both could readily be brought from the mainland. It is little wonder then, that de Monts chose as the site of his settlement a place which promised so well; and, when tempted to criticize his choice in the light of subsequent events, as it has been the fashion to do from the time of Lescarbot to the present, we should remember that all the indications at the time he had to make his decision were most favourable, and that the causes which resulted in the abandonment of the settlement only developed later and were not indicated by any facts at his command. The settlement was abandoned in 1605, and practically as the result of a single phenomenon, namely, the unusually severe winter of 1604-1605. Had that winter been as mild as many are in this region, the settlers would not have suffered so terribly from cold; they could have been more abroad to the great benefit of their health, and could have caught fish for the betterment of their diet; the ice would not have prevented them from bringing fresh water and wood from the mainland, and the scurvy need not have been fatal had it appeared at all. Had that first winter been a mild one, the settlement would not have been removed to Port Royal; and the St. Croix valley, if not the island itself, would have become the centre of French settlement and power in Acadia. In this case, the subsequent history, and in some small degree the present status, of the St. Croix valley

would have been very different. Upon such small accidents does the course of history often turn!

NAMES.

The island has borne several names,—*Met-a-neg-wis*, *Sainte Croix*, *Bone*, *Dochet* and *Doucett*, *Neutral*, *Big* (or *Great*), *de Monts*, and *Hunt's*, all of them more or less closely interwoven with its history.

Dochet.—(Universally pronounced in the neighbourhood, *Do* [like so] *-shay*, with accent on the first syllable.) This is the name by which it is exclusively known in the St. Croix valley at present, all other names being unknown or merely matter of tradition among the older residents. To ascertain its origin we turn, of course, to early records. The earliest use of this name I can find is in documents of 1797, connected with the boundary disputes, where it appears as *Doceas*.¹ I do not find it again until 1841, when it occurs as *Docias* in a manuscript lecture on New Brunswick History, by Moses Perley, preserved by the New Brunswick Historical Society in St. John, and in the same year, Gesner, the geologist, spelled it *Dochez* in a letter.² Next it appears upon Owen's Chart, "Quoddy Hd., to C. Lepreau," of 1848, spelled (for the first time) *Dochet*, and this form is followed upon all charts, both English and American, down to the present day. I find it next on Wilkinson's fine map of New Brunswick of 1859 as *Doucetts*, which is followed as *Doucette* on the Geological Survey Map of Charlotte County of 1880, by Loggie's map of 1884, by New Brunswick Statutes, mentioned below, in 1896 and 1899, and by many other maps and records. Indeed, *Doucetts* has become the recognized spelling in New Brunswick. Such are the facts, but for their interpretation we have the aid only of tradition and inference. The local tradition derives the name from that of a young woman named *Dosia* (Theodosia) formerly associated with the island. The late Peter E. Vose, of Dennysville, Me., a devoted student of local history, wrote me in 1891, quoting an earlier article of his own in the "Eastport Sentinel," that when a boy he had heard from his father the story of a young woman named *Dosia* who, sometime after the permanent settlement of this part of the river in 1784, used to resort with her lover to the island, to the great scandal of the neighbourhood which thus came to speak of the island as *Dosia's*. Another form of the story is given by the late Edward Jack, also deeply versed in local history,

¹ Document given later on page 200; used as *Docias* in Benson's Report of 1798, mentioned later, page 209.

² Cited in the St. Croix Courier Series (on which see later, page 151), No. XXIII.

as follows:¹ "My father told me that a party of young people who were on a picnic at the island early in the present century named it Dosia's Island, because they had seen a very pretty young lady in St. Stephen who was called Theodosia. She was, I believe, a Miss Milberry." Yet another form of the tradition makes her a visitor to, or resident of,² the island and attributes to her such great personal beauty as to have led the residents in the vicinity to speak of the island by her name. There are sundry other variants of the tradition, but the foundation of them all, a close connection between a young woman named Dosia (Theodosia) and the island, causing them to be long talked about in the neighbourhood in connection with one another, explains, I believe, the real origin of the name. Dosia is a commonly used contraction for the name Theodosia, and, locally at least in this region, where women still bear the name, it is pronounced as Do-shay, precisely as the name of the island is. Such an origin is in entire accord with the methods by which place-names arise, and it explains perfectly the first use of the word in the form Doceas or Docias. The later variations are easily explained. Captain Owen seems to have originated the form *Dochet*; doubtless he, knowing the early association of the island with the French, supposed the name as locally pronounced to be of French origin, and gave it a French spelling to agree with its pronunciation; and the great influence of his chart, the basis for all those in use to-day, caused this form to be widely adopted.³ The other form, *Doucette*, originated with Wilkinson in 1859, and, I believe, represents another effort to attribute to the word a French origin, of which there are other examples on Wilkinson's map. It is quite possible that Wilkinson supposed the word had some connection with the name of John Doucett, Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis Royal in 1718, and this determined his spelling, though on this theory the final e should be absent. Kilby (in his *Fastport and Passamaquoddy*, page 126), suggests that the island may be named for Lieutenant-Governor Doucett, but there is absolutely

¹ St. Croix Courier Series, No. XXIV.

² A fact which may have some significance in this connection is this:—A Miss Milberry, now living in St. Stephen, says that the island once belonged to her grandfather. As shown later in this paper, he could never have been its legal owner, but he may have been an earlier resident than we have other evidence of, in which case Theodosia Milberry may have been a resident on the island.

³ The final s of the word, following the law in such cases, was probably by this time commonly dropped. It is now rarely heard, though old people occasionally use the form *Deshays Island*.

no known fact to sustain it, while the fact that the form Doucet or Doucette is not known to occur prior to 1859 is an insuperable objection to it,¹ aside from the fact that the 'ul pronunciation of the word *Doshay*, could hardly have been derived from *Doucett*. A combination of the forms Dochet and Doucette, namely, *Douchet*, is sometimes used, as by Winsor (*America*, IV., 137), and other variants occur.

St. Croix, or Isle Sainte Croix.—This was the name given it in 1604 by Sieur de Monts, as Champlain's narrative, later cited,² records. Champlain does not tell us why the name was chosen but his contemporary, Lescarbot, explains³ that it was suggested by the resemblance of the meeting of the rivers above the island to a cross (see Fig. 2), and this is fully confirmed by the fact that both Champlain and Lescarbot on their maps give the river a marked cross shape (Fig. 7). This name was used in the Jesuit Relations and one or two later documents, cited below (page 196), often abbreviated to *Ste. Croix*, down to 1632, when it vanished, only to reappear as an alternative name for the island, and usually anglicized to *St.* (not *Ste.*) *Croix*, in connection with the boundary disputes in 1797 (Fig. 12). It lingers upon certain later maps, as on Purdy's "*Cabotia*" of 1814, and on Bouchette of 1815, and even in deeds, later cited, of 1826 and of 1856, the former of which speaks of the island as commonly called *St. Croix Island*. But it has not in recent times been in use as the common name of the island. It was, of course, from the island the name was extended to the river, first by Champlain himself.

Some maps show, and records mention another *St. Croix Island* in this region, namely, Treats Island, near Eastport. The name was improperly used under a misunderstanding, but it long persisted on maps.⁴

Bone.—This name first appears on Wright's fine map of this region made in 1772, on which we find the earliest modern representations of the island, reproduced later in this paper (Fig. 10). The name is further applied to it in sundry documents connected with the boundary discussions of 1796-1798, (misprinted *Bon* and *Boon*), and is on Wright's map of 1797, given herewith (Fig. 12). It per-

¹ It is not necessary to go so far afield or aback to find a Doucet after whom one might claim it to have been named. I am informed by M. Placide Gaudet, our leading Acadian genealogist and historian, that one Charles Doucet, born in 1776, at Baie Ste. Marie, N.S., removed to St. Andrews or vicinity when a young man, and married there a Miss Monroe, and they had several children. But there is nothing to connect him with the island.

² Page 155.

³ Page 180.

⁴ It is discussed in these Transactions, VII., II., 227.

sists as late as Bouchette's map of 1831 but then vanishes, and it is now locally unknown even to tradition. We have no facts to explain the origin of the name; but since we now know that the cemetery in which were buried the thirty-five victims of the winter of 1604-1605 has been gradually washed away, it seems not improbable that it was the exposing of their bones which gave origin to the name.

Neutral.—Although not now in use, this name is well known traditionally. I have been told by a very old resident that it originated at the time of the war of 1812, when, as later mentioned (page 213) the British and American vessels met here to exchange their cargoes of plaster, as upon neutral ground. The earliest use of it I have found is in Williamson's History of Maine of 1839, when he says, "the inhabitants often call it Neutral Island." It occurs in the deed later mentioned of 1856, and is mentioned by Kilby and several other writers.

Big (or Great).—These forms appear not now to be used, but they occur in deeds of 1820 and 1869, later mentioned (pages 214, 217). The name, of course, was by way of contrast with Little Dochet, these two being the only islands in that vicinity.

De Monts.—This name was formally given in 1866 by officers of the United States Coast Survey, as described on a later page. Parkman in his "Pioneers of France," published the preceding year, speaks of it as De Monts Island, though evidently using the word descriptively and not as a proper name for the island, and it was, perhaps, this use, fresh in their minds, which led the Coast Survey officers to adopt it. I am informed by the Superintendent of the Coast Survey that "Professor Hilgard in 1866 named it DeMonts Island, and for several years subsequently Dochet and DeMonts were used indifferently, but the latter afterwards disappeared entirely from Light-house Lists and from Hydrographic Office Charts." I have not seen any chart or other government publication using the name, though it is adopted in Brown's "Coasting Voyages in the Gulf of Maine" (in Collections Maine Historical Society VII). Kilby, in his "Eastport and Passamaquoddy" (page 126), suggests, apparently independently of earlier use, that it should be called DeMonts Island. But the name has never come into use, and is quite unknown locally for the island.¹

¹ The name is, however, coming locally into use for the point at the Devils Head on which the summer cottages are built. A few years ago a small summer hotel was built here in a small new clearing, and named, appropriately, "Hotel De Monts," (shown on Figure 15). It speedily became popular, and cottages were built near it, so that the place in general, which is isolated by a long extent of woods from the highway and other settlements, soon became known locally simply as DeMonts. In 1901 the hotel was burned and has not

Hunts.—This name appears, as far as I can find, but once, and then upon the original plane-table sheet of the survey of this region by the United States Coast Survey, of which the island is reproduced (by permission of the Superintendent of the Survey) in Fig. 13. This name is entirely unknown locally for the island, and on inquiry of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, I find that nothing is now known in the Survey office as to the reason for its adoption. Though the name is on the original manuscript sheet, it is not on the published map made from it (Fig. 4), and it has vanished completely. Two possible explanations occur for this name:—first, that it was intended to use the name *de Monts* given the island by the Coast Survey in 1866, but that owing to imperfect memory of some person connected with the survey it was put down wrongly as *Hunts*, and, second, (and more probably) the name was transferred to it by mistake from a ledge on the northwest of the island which is locally often called *Hunts ledge* (Fig. 3).

Met-a-neg-wis or *Met-neg-wis'* (the *a* being sometimes sounded, sometimes not), the Passamaquoddy Indian name of the island. As to its exact form and significance, Mr. A. S. Gatschet, of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, our best authority upon the Passamaquoddy language, writes me that he derives the name from *Met-negwis*, meaning "the little island at the end" (*met* "at the end," *negwis*, diminutive of *m'niku*, "island"), and he suggests that it may refer to the end of navigation. The great objection to this interpretation is in its inappropriateness; the island is by no means at the end of anything, but rather in the middle of the length and breadth of this estuary. There is, moreover, some evidence looking in another direc-

been rebuilt, but the place is still referred to as "DeMonts" by the people of Calais and St. Stephen. It will be interesting for the future student of place-nomenclature to observe whether the name becomes persistent.

It may here be noted incidentally that the supposition repeated by Kilby (Eastport and Passamaquoddy, page 126), and which has some local vogue, that Devils Head is a corruption of d'Orvilles (a companion of de Monts at St. Croix Island in 1604) Head, is a pure guess with absolutely no fact whatever from historical documents or maps to support it. On the contrary, the word can be traced back in its present form through numerous maps and documents to 1770, when it appears in the Owen Journal spelled as now. All the probabilities, therefore, are in favour of the belief that this head, very prominent and somewhat treacherous to the sailor because of the squalls which sometimes sweep down from it, was named the "Devils" precisely as innumerable other places in this region, of a somewhat uncanny nature, are named for him. Another original, equally foundationless, for the word, is given locally, that it is for a man named Duval who once lived behind it. As above shown, the word goes back in its present form long prior to any settlement in this vicinity, which did not begin until after 1783.

tion. I have myself obtained the name from a Passamaquoddy in the form *Mut-on-a'-g-wes*, which he defined as "little wild island," probably simply at random. The name occurs several times among the MS. of the boundary Commission, later described (page 189) in testimony taken from Indians in 1796-1797. One Indian gave the name as "*Matnagwish*. It was so called because they left their stores, etc., there when they went a-hunting, as no Bears or other wild beasts sat down there." Another gave it as "*Muttanagwis*, . . . which signifies a place like a store or chest," while a third gives "*Muttanagwiss*, because a place where a store to deposit things."¹ This agreement of the three Indians, apparently examined separately, is important in its bearing upon the true meaning of the word, which, however, I cannot further explain.

Of the names placed upon my modern map (Fig. 14), some explanation may be given. *Triangle Cove* and *Sand Point* are taken from Wright's map (Fig. 12), though the former seems to be unknown locally. *Treats Cove* is used locally and is, no doubt, for the fisherman who worked on the island in early days, as later mentioned (page 215). *Hunts Ledge* is used locally, but I do not know its origin. The two partially isolated islets at the south of the island are locally called *Nubbles*, and I have named one *Chapel Nubble*, because nearly on it stood the Indian chapel built by de Monts (Figs. 8, 14), and the other, *Wright's Nubble*, since it is first shown isolated from the main island on Wright's map, for on Champlain's it is a part of the main island (Fig. 14). When other names are needed for places on the island, or, indeed, for other places in the vicinity, or even for estates, hotels, clubs, yachts of the neighbourhood, they may well be drawn from some of those of the companions of de Monts, later mentioned in this paper.

MAPS.

The existent maps of the island fall into two classes:—first, special maps of the island itself, and second, general maps of the region upon which it appears incidentally.

Of the former I have been able to find but five, four of which are reproduced in this paper; first, Champlain's of 1604 (Fig. 8); second, Wright's of 1797 (Fig. 12); third, one made by the United

¹ Compare also Kilby's "*Eastport and Passamaquoddy*," pages 116 and 122. The name of Little Dochet is given in the testimony as *Muttinagwenish*, or *Muttanagwenish*, evidently a diminutive of the name of the larger island (rather implying that the name of the latter is not a diminutive, as Mr. Gatschet's explanation supposes), and once the two are transposed, doubtless by an error in taking them down, as they are on Carleton's map of Maine, 1803.

States Coast Survey in 1885 (Fig. 13); fourth, one made by the present writer from survey in 1898, and published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, new series, Vol. V, section ii., page 265; and fifth, one made by the writer from a new survey in September, 1902, and here (Fig. 3) published for the first time. Owing to an inaccuracy in the compass used in the 1898 survey (a nickel-plated instrument found subsequently to give 5° of error in some positions) that map was inaccurate in details of its shape; and, in consequence, it is intended to be superseded by the new map herewith presented (Figs. 3 and 14). Repeated inquiry in various directions, locally and in the Maine State and the Massachusetts Land Offices, has failed to show the existence of any other maps of the island.

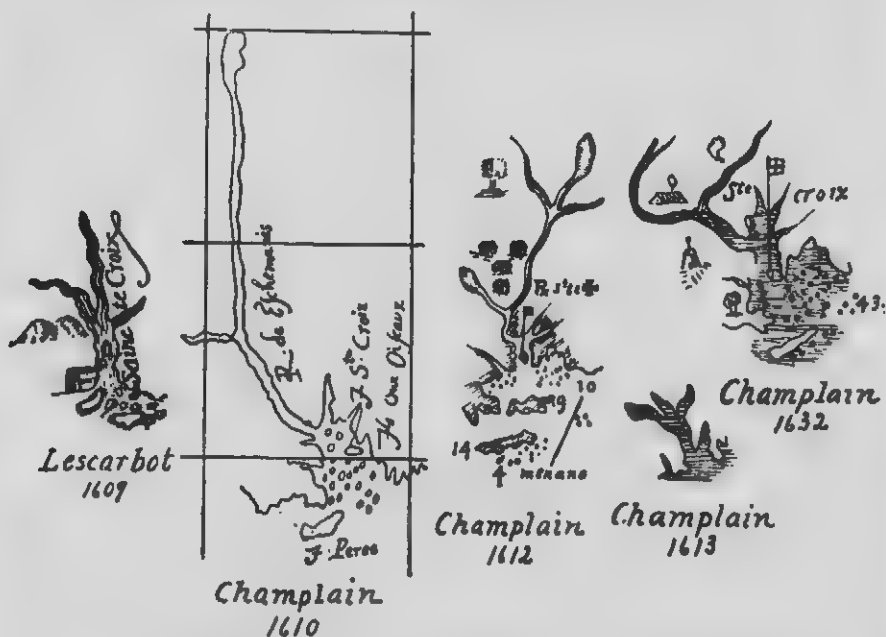


FIG. 7.—All of the known early maps showing Dochet (St. Croix) Island, with the St. Croix River. Original size.

Of general maps of the region on which the island is shown, the first is that of Champlain, dated 1610, of which the St. Croix portion is reproduced herewith (Fig. 7),¹ and it appears again in somewhat different form on his maps of 1612, 1613 and of 1632 (Fig. 7), in two of these marked by the standard indicating a French settlement. It

¹ The Lescarbot map is from the 1609 edition of his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France"; the 1610 Champlain map is from the copy in Brown's "Genesis of the United States"; the 1612 and 1613 Champlain maps are from the

appears also on Lescarbot's earlier map of 1609, but unnamed (Fig. 7). Subsequent maps of the region become much distorted, and the island does not appear, at least recognizably, upon any other map down to 1772, when it appears with the name Bone Island on Wright's great survey map, a portion of which is here reproduced from the MS. in the Public Record Office in London (Fig. 10). It appears with its Indian name on Carleton's Map of Maine of 1802, though with its name and that of Little Dohet transposed. From 1772 down to the present it appears upon all maps of large scale, sometimes named and sometimes not, reaching its most detailed representation upon the United States Coast Survey Chart of 1895 (No. 300), of which a portion is here reproduced (Fig. 4), and this is the largest-scale published map of the island, aside, of course, from the special maps earlier mentioned.

LITERATURE.

The history of Dohet Island has been of such interest, and, in connection with the boundary disputes, of such importance as to give rise to a considerable literature. This may be divided into five classes:—(1) original historical narratives and other documents, (2) references in general historical works, (3) scientific literature, (4) popular accounts in newspapers and other fleeting sources, and (5) pure literature, romance, and poetry.

First, we consider the original historical publications. Of these, by far the most important is "*Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain*," written by Samuel de Champlain, companion of de Monts in 1604, and published as a quarto at Paris in 1613. This work is now very rare and costly, but is accessible in the edition of Champlain's writings published at Quebec in 1870, under the editorship of Abbé Laverdière, a work whose faithful reproduction of the original text (marred only by the crudeness of reproduction of some of the illustrations), and scholarly annotations make it one of the monuments of Canadian scholarship. From this the text in the following pages is taken. There is also an edition of Champlain's works published in 1632, reprinted in a valueless edition at Paris in 1832, and with fidelity in the Quebec edition of 1870, which contains an abbreviated account of the island and its discovery, but omits the account of the settlement. Champlain's "*Voyages*" of 1613 has been translated into

"*Voyages*" of 1613, and the 1632 Champlain is from the 1632 edition of his works. I have a copy of a 1607 or 1608 map of the St. Croix by Champlain (given me by Mr. Henry Harrisse), but it does not show the island.

English by Dr. C. P. Otis, annotated by Rev E. F. Slafter, and published at Boston in 1878-1882 by the Prince Society, an extremely good work with photographic reproductions of the illustrations; this translation I have used as a basis for that in the following pages, not hesitating, however, to alter it whenever, which was rarely, I thought it could be improved.

There is, however, an earlier account of the voyage and settlement of 1604 which, as Parkman has said, may have been written by Champlain himself,—namely, that in *Le Mercure François*, a contemporary French journal for 1608, published in 1611, and this is reproduced later in this paper, together with a translation based upon that given in the Magazine of American History, Vol. II., 49. Second in importance to Champlain's works comes the "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," published in 1609 by Marc Lescarbot, a lawyer of Paris, who spent the years of 1606-1608 in Acadia, and visited the island in 1607. He obtained his facts, of course, from Champlain, with whom he passed a winter at Port Royal, and upon some matters he gives more information than does Champlain himself. New editions of his "Histoire" were published in 1611, 1612 and 1618, and that of 1612, which is followed in the text later in this paper, has been reprinted, not in fac-simile, but somewhat modernized, by Tross at Paris in 1866. The different editions not only differ from one another in the amount of material included, but they also vary considerably in the details of the text,¹ although, so far as the parts relating to St. Croix Island are concerned, the differences appear to be merely in diction and not to involve any change of meaning or additional matter.² The parts of Lescarbot's work relating to de Monts' voyage and settlement were translated into English by a clergyman named Pierre Erondelle, and published at London in 1609 under the title "Nova Francia; or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia" I have used this quaint and interesting translation, which I was tempted to reproduce here exactly, in making the translation given later in this paper. This translation of Erondelle's is given, abbreviated, in Purchas' "Pilgrims," Vol. IV., and in full in Churchill's Collections of Voyages, Vol. VIII. The only other printed original documents relating to the earlier periods of the

¹ On the different editions, consult Biggar, "The French Hakluyt, Marc Lescarbot of Vervins," in American Historical Review, VI., 671-692.

Full bibliographical details of the works of Champlain and Lescarbot are given by Winsor in Chapters III. and IV. of Vol. IV. of his "America."

² As shown by a comparison of the three editions made for me by my friend, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the Lenox Library.

island's history are contained in the Relations of the Jesuit Missionaries, which have recently been collected and republished in original and translation in seventy-three volumes under the editorship of R. G. Thwaites, a monumental work of research and scholarship. The citations in this paper are from that edition. The documents bearing upon the later history of the island are mostly still in Ms. in the voluminous records of the Boundary Commission, which will be found described later in this paper.

Passing next to books of history, we note that all works treating the history of Canada, or this part of America, necessarily make some mention of the history of the island. Such references are well-nigh innumerable, but not always accurate, and need not be considered further here. Works of more limited range, those relating to Maine and to the Acadian Provinces naturally give more detailed accounts, and such narratives are to be found in Haliburton's *Nova Scotia* (1829), Murdoch's *Nova Scotia* (1865), Hannay's *Acadia* (1879), Weston's *Maine* (1834), Williamson's *Maine* (1839), Willis's *Early Collections of Voyages to America*, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XV., 1861, 212-213, Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865), Brown's *Coasting Voyages in the Gulf of Maine*, (Collections of the Maine Historical Society, VII., 1873, 243), and there is a treatment of it, with reproductions of the maps, in the section on Acadia in Vol IV. of Winsor's "*Narrative and Critical History of America*," (1884). Dionne's *Samuel Champlain* (1891) treats it fully, but with no new information. It is synoptically, but not very accurately considered in a local work, Knowlton's "*Annals of Calais, Maine and St. Stephen, New Brunswick*," 1875; it is considered briefly, with the cut of the settlement by Kilby in his *Eastport and Passamaquoddy* (1888); is discussed very fully and with a translation of Champlain's narrative and reproduction of his map of the settlement in Nos. XXIII.—XXVI. of the very valuable series of historical articles, edited by James Vroom, in the "*St. Croix Courier*," published at St. Stephen, in 1892-1895. More recently it has been briefly treated, with a cut of the settlement-map, by Hay in his "*Canadian History Readings*" (1900). The interesting questions as to the identity of the island, its names, etc., have received some attention from several writers, and there are notes on the subject in Holmes' "*Annals*," I., 149 (I., 122 of 2nd Edition), in Williamson's *History of Maine* (I., 88, and II., 578), in Laverdière's, and in Otis-Slafter's editions of Champlain, in Winsor's "*America*," IV., 137, and in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, II., 291. From the point of view of the identification of the site of the settlement, etc., I have treated the subject, with reproductions of three maps, in my "*Historic Sites in*

New Brunswick" in these Transactions, V., section II., 262-266. The part played by the island in the Boundary controversies is touched upon in several of the above works, and the subject is very fully summarized in my "Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick," published in Vol. VII. of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada.

Of scientific literature relating to the island there is extremely little, and it has been referred to in the preceding pages. The Geological map of Charlotte County colours the island for the Silurian formation, though, as already pointed out, erroneously, but the accompanying reports make no mention of it. Brief references to the molluscs, etc., which occur there, in identification of those mentioned by Champlain and Lescarbot, are given by the present writer in the Bulletins of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, (No. VI., page 17; No. VII., page 14, and No. VIII., pages 4-6, 16), while a reference to a southern star-fish occurring there occurs in the same Bulletin, No. IX., page 54. Other than these, I can find no references to the island in scientific literature.

Of more fleeting literature in newspapers there has been an abundance. The island being one of the chief local attractions, is visited by many tourists and an occasional reporter every summer, and some of these on their return home publish their experiences in the newspapers. Such narratives are sometimes grotesquely inaccurate, and abound in characteristic exaggerations, and they have no permanent value. One of the first of such articles is said locally to have been published in the New York *Sun* some forty years ago, and is worth note because it reproduced the two maps of Champlain, and became a chief source of information locally about the island. An interesting reference to a visit to it occurs in a book for children, "All Among the Lighthouses," by Mary Crowinshield (Boston, 1886), pages 339-343.

Of pure literature the island has almost none. No romance has been woven from its story, though its subject offers tempting opportunity, and it has inspired but two short poems, one, an Ode to de Monts, written by Lescarbot on his voyage to the island in 1607, and contained in his "Muses de la Nouvelle France,"¹ and A. W. H. Eaton's *St. Croix Isle* in his "Acadian Legends and Lyrics." Opinions will differ as to the merits of the latter, and its many inaccuracies mar its application to the place. In time to come, perchance, the imagina-

¹ Given in the Tross edition, Vol. III., page 45, of the "Muses." There is in this work also an ode to de Monts and his associates, and sonnets to Champlain, Poutrincourt, and Champdoré.

tion of novelist or poet will take up the theme where the historian has left it:— may the result then be worthy of the subject!

HISTORY.

The history of Dohet Island falls naturally into four periods:—
 First,—its settlement by de Monts in 1604, and events to the grant of Razilly in 1632.
 Second,—its part in the boundary controversies and in the determination of the River St. Croix in 1796-1799.
 Third,—its modern history from the first permanent settlement of the St. Croix to the present.
 Fourth,—its probable and desirable future.

1. THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF ST. CROIX (DOCHET) ISLAND IN 1604, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS TO 1632.

The opening of the year 1604 found not a single European settled amid the endless forests of the northern parts of North America. Attempts at colonization had been made, it is true, but all had proved abortive. The very ownership of the country was in dispute, for England claimed it all by right of the discoveries of the Cabots, while France maintained a right to the same region by virtue of the later and better known discoveries of Verrazano. Such were the conditions when, in 1603, the Sieur de Monts, an energetic and prominent soldier and gentleman of France, proposed to the King of France to found a colony in Acadia, offering to bear all of the expenses if he could be given as compensation a monopoly of the fur trade. This was readily granted, and the Sieur de Monts, in addition to receiving the monopoly, was made Lieutenant-General of the King for the country of Acadie, a region covering the Atlantic coast of North America from latitude 40° to 46°, or from Philadelphia to Cape Breton (Fig. 1). Accordingly, early in 1604, de Monts brought together a company of 120 men, some of them gentlemen in search of adventure, some of them artizans and other workmen, together with abundant stores and equipment for a permanent settlement, and embarked them upon two vessels, one of 120 and the other of 150 tons. With him as King's Geographer, and, as it proved, historian of the expedition, went Samuel de Champlain, a great man, afterwards the Father of New France. The vessels reached Acadia in safety in May, and, after sundry adventures and explorations, the vessel containing de Monts and Champlain reached St. Mary's Bay in Nova Scotia on

June 16th, the other vessel, commanded by Sieur de Pont Gravé, remaining at Canso. Embarking in a smaller boat, apparently a barque of eight tons, with a few men, de Monts and Champlain proceeded to explore the Bay of Fundy, hitherto unknown to Europeans, discovering Port Royal and Annapolis Basin, passing around the head of the Bay of Fundy, and entering the mouth of the St. John, on June 24th. Then they kept on to the westward, passing the islands we now call the Wolves, and entering Passamaquoddy Bay, through which they passed. But from this point on we shall allow Champlain to tell the story as he has written it in his own book.¹

CHAPITRE III.

. . . nous en[32]trâmes dans vne riuiere qui a presque demye lieue de large en son entrée, où ayans faict vne lieue ou deux, nous y trouuâmes deux isles: l'vne fort petite proche de la terre de l'ouest: & l'autre au milieu, qui peut auoir huict ou neuf cens pas de circuit, esleuée de tous costez de trois à quatre cens de rochers, fors vn petit endroict d'vne pointe de Sable & terre grasse, laquelle peut seruir à faire briques, & autres choses necessaires. Il y a vn autre lieu à couuert pour mettre des vaisseaux de quatre vingt à cent tonneaux: mais il asseche de basse mer. L'isle est remplie de sapins, bouleaux, esrables & chesnes. De soy elle est en fort bonne situation, & n'y a qu'vn costé où elle baïsse d'environ 40. pas, qui est aisé à fortifier, les costes de la terre ferme en estans des deux costez esleuée de quelques neuf cens à mille pas. Il y a des vaisseaux qui ne pourroyent passer sur la riuiere qu'à la mercy du canon d'icelle Qui est le lieu que nous iugeâmes le meilleur: tant pour la situation, bon pays, que pour la communication que nous pretendions avec les sauuages de ces costes & du dedans des terres, estans au milieu d'eux: Lesquels avec le temps on esperoit pacifier, & amortir les guerres qu'ils ont les vns contre les autres, pour en tirer à l'aduenir du serulce; & les reduire à la [33] foy Chrestienne. Ce lieu est nommé par le sieur de Monts l'isle sainte Croix. Passant plus outre on voit vne grande baye en laquelle y a deux isles: l'vne haute & l'autre platte: & trois riuieres, deux mediocres, dont l'vne tire vers l'Orient & l'autre au nord: & la troisieme grande, qui va vers l'Occident. C'est celle des Etechemins, dequoy nous auons parlé cy dessus.

¹ The reader who may be interested in knowing more of the lives and personalities of Champlain and de Monts may find accounts of them in the following sources. Of Champlain, there is a full account, with portrait, in Chapter III. of Vol. IV. of Winsor's "America"; others are in the Otis-Slafter Translation, in the Quebec edition of Champlain's works, in Dionne's Samuel Champlain and elsewhere. As to de Monts, there are references and a reproduction of a possible portrait in Chapter IV. of Vol. IV. of Winsor's "America," and a mention of him by Dionne in the preceding volume of these Transactions, section 1., 40. There is a portrait of him in the Gilbert Parker collection at Queen's University Library, which, as I am informed, from the same original as that given by Winsor.

The text of Champlain following is from the Quebec edition of 1870, but with the chapter headings and pages added from the original edition of 1613.

TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER III.

. . . . *St. Croix Island, and other noteworthy objects on this coast.*

. . . . We entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth,¹ sailing up which a league or two we found two islands: one very small² near the western bank: and the other³ in mid-river, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces,⁴ with rocky sides three or four fathoms⁵ high all around, except in one small place,⁶ where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other needful articles. There is another place affording a shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons: but it is dry at low tide.⁷ The island is covered with firs, birches, maples and oaks.⁸ It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for about forty paces it is lower than elsewhere:⁹ this, however, is easily fortified, the banks of the main land being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces.¹⁰ Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by Sleur de Monts Saint Croix Island.¹¹ Farther on there is a great bay, in which are two islands, one high and the other flat;¹²

¹ Now the St. Croix, with its mouth at Joes Point (Fig. 2).

² Now Little Dohet (Fig. 2).

³ Now Dohet, the subject of this Monograph (Fig. 2).

⁴ The distance is about exact, as the island was at that time.

⁵ The fathom was rather more than ours, being nearly seven feet (compare the scales on Wright's map, Fig. 12).

⁶ This point no doubt would be that shown on Champlain's map (Fig. 8) as mounted with two cannon. Here as comparison with the modern map will show (Fig. 14), the rocks are wanting and there is a sandy beach.

⁷ This is Treats Cove (Fig. 3), altered considerably from its appearance at the time of Champlain, but still forming such a harbour as he describes. I have been told by a former resident of the island, that, before the sand was removed between the main island and the Chapel Nubble, this was a most charming harbour, protected by high banks all around. Compare Wright's map (Fig. 12), where it is very clearly shown. The bottom is of sand, and so smooth that small vessels can lie in perfect safety upon it as the tide falls.

⁸ Oaks are not now found among the few trees on the island, though Wright found one tree in 1797 (see later, page 204). The others here mentioned still occur on the island (compare page 139).

⁹ This refers, I believe, to the part of the island on the south-west shore, where it slopes almost to the water's edge.

¹⁰ In a general way these distances are about correct, though Champlain's own map (Fig. 8), being for a special reason (elsewhere explained, page 156), much distorted in this respect, makes it much less.

¹¹ This name was suggested by the meeting of the rivers above the island in the form of a cross, as earlier (page 144) explained.

¹² Oak Bay, with the lofty Cooksons Island, some 300 feet in height, and the low sandy Little Island. (Fig. 2).

also three rivers, two of moderate size, one extending towards the east,¹ the other towards the north,² and the third of large size, towards the west.³ The latter is that of the Etechemins, of which we spoke before. . . .

EXPLANATIONS OF CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF ST. CROIX ISLAND, 1604-5 (FIG. 8).

ORIGINAL.	TRANSLATIONS (and notes).
<i>Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.</i>	<i>The figures indicate fathoms of water.</i>
A. Le plan de l'habitation.	A. A plan of the settlement. (Compare also Fig. 9.)
B. Iardinages.	B. Gardens.
C. Petit islet servant de platte forme à mettre le canon.	C. Little islet serving as a platform for cannon. (This islet is now washed away.)
D. Platteforme où on mettoit du canon.	D. Platform where cannon were placed.
E. Le cimetiére.	E. The Cemetery. (Now washed away.)
F. La chapelle.	F. The Chapel. (On the present Chapel Nubble, or nearly.)
G. Basses de rochers autour de l'isle sainte Croix.	G. Rocky shoals about Sainte Croix Island.
H. un petit islet.	H. A little islet. (Little Docket.)
I. Le lieu où le sieur de Mons avoit fait commencer un moulin à eau.	I. Place where Sieur de Mons had a water-mill commenced. (On Lows Brook.)
L. Place où l'on faisoit le charbon.	L. Place where we made our charcoal. (Beside Beaver Lake Brook.)
M. Iardinages à la grâde terre de l'Ouest.	M. Gardens on the western shore. (In a charming situation, easily recognizable, east of Red Beach.)
N. Autres Iardinages à la grande terre de l'Est.	N. Other gardens on the eastern shore. (Beside the small stream emptying into Johnsons Cove.)
O. Grande montaigne fort haute dans la terre.	O. Very large and high mountain on the main land. (McLaughlens Mountain.)
P. Riviere des Etechemins passant au tour de l'isle sainte Croix.	P. River of the Etechemins flowing about the Island of St. Croix. ⁴

¹ The Waweig.

² Oak Bay, with the small stream (Gallops Stream) emptying into its head.

³ The St. Croix above the Devils Head (Fig. 2). Champlain repeatedly calls it "River of the Etechemins," which name persisted on a few maps down to Denys, 1672, and then vanished. It was called by the Indians the *Scoodic*, and to some extent the name is still in use.

⁴ For the location of the various places on the island in comparison with the modern topography consult Fig. 14.

While the proportions of the island are fairly good on this map, the shores of the mainland (compare figs. 4, 10 and 11) are brought far too near, of course in order to keep the map a convenient size. It is adjusted to the magnetic meridian, and the scale, as to the island, is about 250 feet to the inch. The

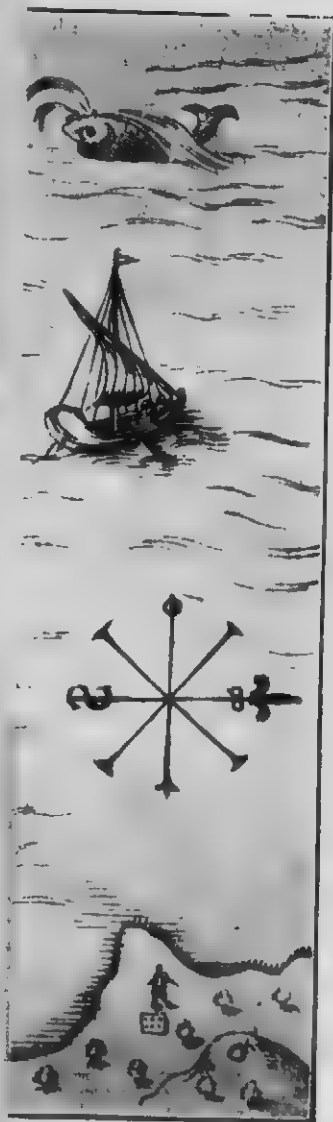




FIG. 8. Map of St. Croix Island and surroundings, by Champlain
(The map and explanations form page 34 of 'Champlain's Voyages')



Champlain, 1604-5 (published in 1613). Original size.
Page 34 of Champlain's "Voyages".

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Here follows a description of the falls in the River of the Etechemins (St. Croix), with mention of the portages to the Norumbegue (Penobscot) and St. John, and of the fishing and soil, and of the planting of wheat there, and some minor matters, not connected with St. Croix Island.

Ce lieu est par la hauteur de 45. degrez vn tiers de latitude, & 17. degrez 32. minutes de declinaison de la guide-ayment.

TRANSLATION.

This place is in latitude $45^{\circ} 20'$, and $17^{\circ} 32'$ of the variation of the magnetic needle.¹

vessels represented are doubtless that in which de Monts came to America, with the barque in which he and Champlain were exploring when they discovered the island. The animals represented are a whale and two porpoises, which are unmistakable (and still to be seen at times around the island), and a third kind of creature which seems to represent the fish called the sculpin more nearly than anything else that lives in this region. The meaning of the seated man near the ledges at the south of the island, I do not understand; the place is only uncovered at low tide. Nor is the meaning of the figure of a man, with apparently a clearing beneath him, evident, unless it means that the Indians had a small clearing as a sort of lookout on the bluff at Sandy Point. The depths given are too little (compare Fig. 4).

¹ Although he has been speaking of the falls on the River of the Etechemins, he must in this sentence refer to St. Croix Island, because the determination of latitude and magnetic variation require some time and care which he could give in the settlement on the island, and would not be likely to give on his hasty visits to the much less important place at the falls. His latitude, though somewhat too great (it is really $45^{\circ} 07' 44''$), is yet, considering the imperfection of the instruments of the time, remarkably accurate. The variation of the magnetic needle at the island is now (1902) somewhat over $18^{\circ} 30'$, and increasing slightly, west of north. Various early surveys, by Wright, 1772, and others later, show that it was from 13° to 14° W. somewhat over a century ago. Champlain's observation here given is, of course, much the earliest on record for this region. A very curious fact about Champlain's observations is that they show an increase in the variation from the east westward, thus seeming to imply that the variation was then to the eastward, and not to the westward. The subject has been carefully studied by C. A. Schott, for the United States Coast Survey, with results published in the eighth edition of his "Secular Variation of the Earth's magnetic force in the United States and in some adjacent foreign countries," in the Report of the Coast Survey for 1895. He comes to the conclusion that Champlain's determinations are as much as 6° in error, and not to be depended upon within that amount. The variation must then have been west, and it still remains unexplained how Champlain could have found the angle increasing to the westward. In a treatise on his two maps given at the end of his "Voyages," Champlain explains, with a diagram, his mode of finding the true meridian, a mode simple and crude enough, but doubtless the best available to travellers at that time.

[35] *LE SIEUR DE MONS NE TROUVANT POINT de lieu plus propre pour faire vne demeure arreetée que l'isle de S. Croix, la fortifie & y fait des logements. Retour des vaisseaux en France, & de Ralleau Secrétaire d'iceluy sieur de Mons, pour mettre ordre à quelques affaires.*

CHAPITRE IV.

N'AYANT trouué lieu plus propre que ceste Isle, nous commençames à faire vne barricade sur vn petit islet vn peu separé de l'isle, qui seruoit de platte-forme pour mettre nostre canon. Chacun s'y employa si vertueusement qu'en peu de temps elle fut rendue en defence, bien que les mousquittes (qui sont petites mouches) nous apportassent beaucoup d'incommodité au travail: car il y eust plusieurs de nos gens qui eurent le visage si enflé par leur piqueure qu'ils ne pouuoient presque voir. La barricade estant acheuée, le sieur de Mons enuoya sa barque pour aduertir le reste de nos gens qui estoient avec nostre vaisseau en la baye sainte Marie, qu'ils vinssent à sainte Croix. Ce qui fut promptement fait: Et en les attendant nous passames le temps assez loyeusement.

Quelques iours après nos vaisseaux estans arriuez, & ayant mouillé l'ancre, vn chacun descendit à terre: puis sans perdre temps le sieur de Mons commanda à employer les ourriers à [36] bastir des maisons pour nostre demeure, & me permit de faire l'ordonnance de nostre logement. Aprez que le sieur de Mons eut prins la place du Magazin qui contient neuf toises de long, trois de large & douze pieds de haut, il print le plan de son logis, qu'il fit promptement bastir par de bons ourriers, puis après donna à chacun sa place: & aussi tost on commença à s'assembler cinq à cinq & six à six, selon que l'on destroit. Alors tous se mirent à deffricher l'isle, aller au bois, charpenter, porter de la terre & autres choses necessaires pour les bastimens.

Cependant que nous bastissions nos logis, le sieur de Mons depescha le Capitaine Fouques dans le vaisseau de Rossignol, pour aller trouuer Pontgraué à Canceau, afin d'auoir ce qui restoit des commoditez pour nostre habitation.

Quelque temps après qu'il fut parti, il arriua vne petite barque du port de huit tonneaux, où estoit du Glas de Honfleur pilotte du vaisseau de Pontgraué, qui amena avec luy les Maistres de nauires Basques qui auoient esté prins par ledit Pont en faisant la traicte de peleterie, comme nous auons dit. Le sieur de Mons les receut humainement & les renuoya par ledit du Glas au Pont avec commission de luy dire qu'il emmenast à la Rochelle les vaisseaux qu'il auoit prins, afin que iustice en fut faicte. [37] Cependant on trauailloit fort & ferme aux logemens: les charpentiers au magazin & logis du sieur de Mons, & tous les autres chacun au sien; comme moy au mien, que le fis avec l'aide de quelques seruiteurs que le sieur d'Ouille & moy auions; qui fut incontinent acheué; où depuis le sieur de Mons se logea attendant que le sien le fut. L'on fit aussi vn four, & vn moulin à bras pour moudre nos bleds, qui donna beaucoup de peine & travail à la pluspart, pour estre chose penible. L'on fit après quelques lardinages, tant à la grande terre que dedans l'isle, où on sema plusieurs sortes de graines, qui y vindrent fort bien, hormis en l'isle; d'autant que ce n'estoit que Sable qui brusloit tout, lors que le soleil donnoit, encore qu'on prist beaucoup de peine à les arrouser.

[38] Quelques iours après le sieur de Mons se delibera de scauoir où estoit la mine de cuivre franc qu'auions tant cherchée: Et pour cest effect m'enuoya avec vn sauage appellé Messamouët, qui disoit en scauoir bien le lieu. Je party dans vne petite barque au port de cinq à six tonneaux, & neuf matelots

avec moy. A quelque huit lieues de l'isle, tirant à la rivièrre S. Jean, en trouuâmes vne de cuivre, qui n'estoit pas pur; neantmoins bonne selon le rapport du mineur, lequel disoit que l'on en pourroit tirer 18. pour cent. Plus outre nous en trouuâmes d'autres moindres que ceste cy. Quand nous fâmes au lieu où nous pretendions que fut celle que nous cherchions le sauage ne la peut trouuer: de sorte qu'il fallut nous enreuenir, laissant ceste recherche pour vne autre fois.

Comme le fus de retour de ce voyage, le sieur de Mons resolut de renuoyer ses vaisaux en France, & aussi le sieur de Poltrincourt qui n'y estoit venu que pour son plaisir, & pour recognoistre de pais & les lieux propres pour y habiter, selon le desir qu'il en auoit: c'est pourquoy il demanda au sieur de Mons le port Royal, qu'il luy donna suluant le pouuoir & commission qu'il auoit du Roy. Il renuoya aussi Ralleau son Secretaire pour mettre ordre à quelques affaires touchant le voyage; lesquels par-[40]trent de l'isle S. Croix le dernier iour d'Aoust audict an 1604.

TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER IV.

Sieur de Monts, finding no place better adapted for a permanent settlement than the island of St. Croix, fortifies it and builds dwellings. Return of the Vessels to France, and of Ralleau, Secretary of Sieur de Monts, for the purpose of arranging some business affairs.

Having found no more suitable place than this island, we commenced making a barricade on a little islet¹ a short distance from the island, which served as a station for placing our cannon. All worked so energetically that in a little while it was put in a state of defence, although the mosquitoes

¹ At a first glance, the islet here mentioned would seem to be the Nubble, named on our maps (Fig. 3, 14) Wrights Nubble, and such was formerly my own opinion (expressed in my "Historic Sites of New Brunswick," in these Transactions, V., section II, 263). But a more thorough study of the subject, especially as based upon a comparison of Champlain's and the modern maps reduced to the same scale and superposed (Fig. 14) has convinced me that the present Wrights Nubble is a remnant of the point on Champlain's map, and that the islet on which his cannon were placed was farther to the southward, and is now entirely washed away. If this is not the case, and the present Wrights Nubble is the one on which de Monts placed his cannon, Champlain's map must be distorted in its southern part to a degree quite impossible to believe of so skilled a cartographer. My present interpretation allows the maps to be harmonized perfectly, and it is confirmed by the relation of Wrights Nubble to the ledge on the southeast of the island (the one near the point with the two cannon on Fig. 8). The reason why the present Nubble has been preserved, while all the intermediate part of the island has been washed away is very plain; the Nubble is protected by the rock on which it rests which rises above the highest tides, while in the intermediate part the rock is wanting and the sea now washes directly against the soft soil, easily undermining it. It is to be remembered that the island stood some feet higher in Champlain's time (page 135).

Champlain's map seems to show the little islet on which the cannon were mounted as united by a narrow neck with the main island, but in his text,

(which are little flies) annoyed us excessively in our work;¹ there were several of our men whose faces were so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely

EXPLANATIONS OF CHAMPLAIN'S VIEW OF DE MONTS' SETTLEMENT ON
ST. CROIX ISLAND, 1604-5. (FIG. 9.)

ORIGINAL.

TRANSLATION.

A. Logis du Sieur de Mons.	A. Dwelling of Sieur de Mons.
B. Maison publique où l'on passoit le temps durant la pluie.	B. Public building where we spent our time when it rained.
C. Le magasin.	C. The storehouse.
D. Logement des suisses.	D. Dwelling of the Swiss.
E. La forge.	E. The blacksmith shop.
F. Logement des charpentiers.	F. Dwelling of the carpenters.
G. Le puis.	G. The Well.
H. Le four où l'on faisoit le pain.	H. The oven where the bread was made.
I. La cuisine.	I. Kitchen.
L. Iardinages.	L. Gardens.
M. Autres Iardins.	M. Other gardens.
N. La place où au milieu y a vn arbre.	N. Place in the centre where a tree stands.
O. Palissade.	O. Palisade.
P. Logis des sieurs d'Orville, Champ plain & Chandoré.	P. Dwellings of the Sieurs d'Orville, Champlain and Champdoré.
Q. Logis du sieur Boulay, & autres artisans.	Q. Dwelling of sieur Boulay, and other artisans.
R. Logis où logeoient les sieurs de Genestou, Sourin & autres artisans.	R. Dwelling where the sieurs de Genestou, Sourin, and other artisans lived.
T. Logis des sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourlioli & Fougeray.	T. Dwelling of the Sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourlioli, and Fougeray.
V. Logement de nostre curé.	V. Dwelling of our curate.
X. Autres iardinages.	X. Other gardens.
Y. La riuere qui entoure l'isle.	Y. The river surrounding the island.

For the position of the settlement in relation to the modern topography of the island, as nearly as they can be harmonized, consult Fig. 14. This view, and the plan on the map of the island (Fig. 8), while agreeing in general, do not harmonize in details.

In chapter IV., he speaks of it as "a little islet a short distance from the island," and Lescarbot speaks of it in the same way; hence we may infer that, despite the appearance on Champlain's map, this islet was then partially separated from the main island, probably with a "saddle" or dip between them, extending down a few feet but not to the beach.

¹ It is likely that the black flies rather than the true mosquitoes are meant. In the present cleared condition of the island, neither mosquitoes nor black flies are ever troublesome, though the tiny midges are sometimes so.

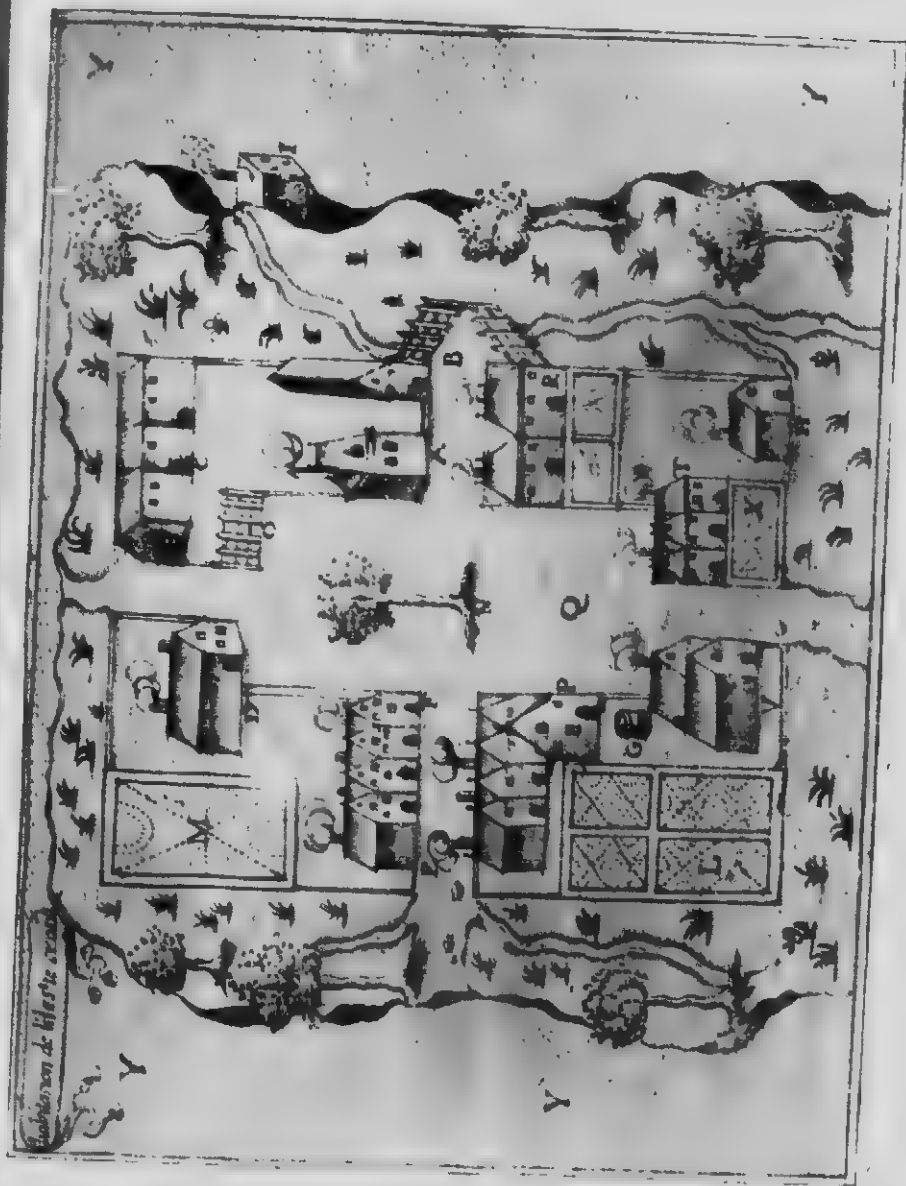
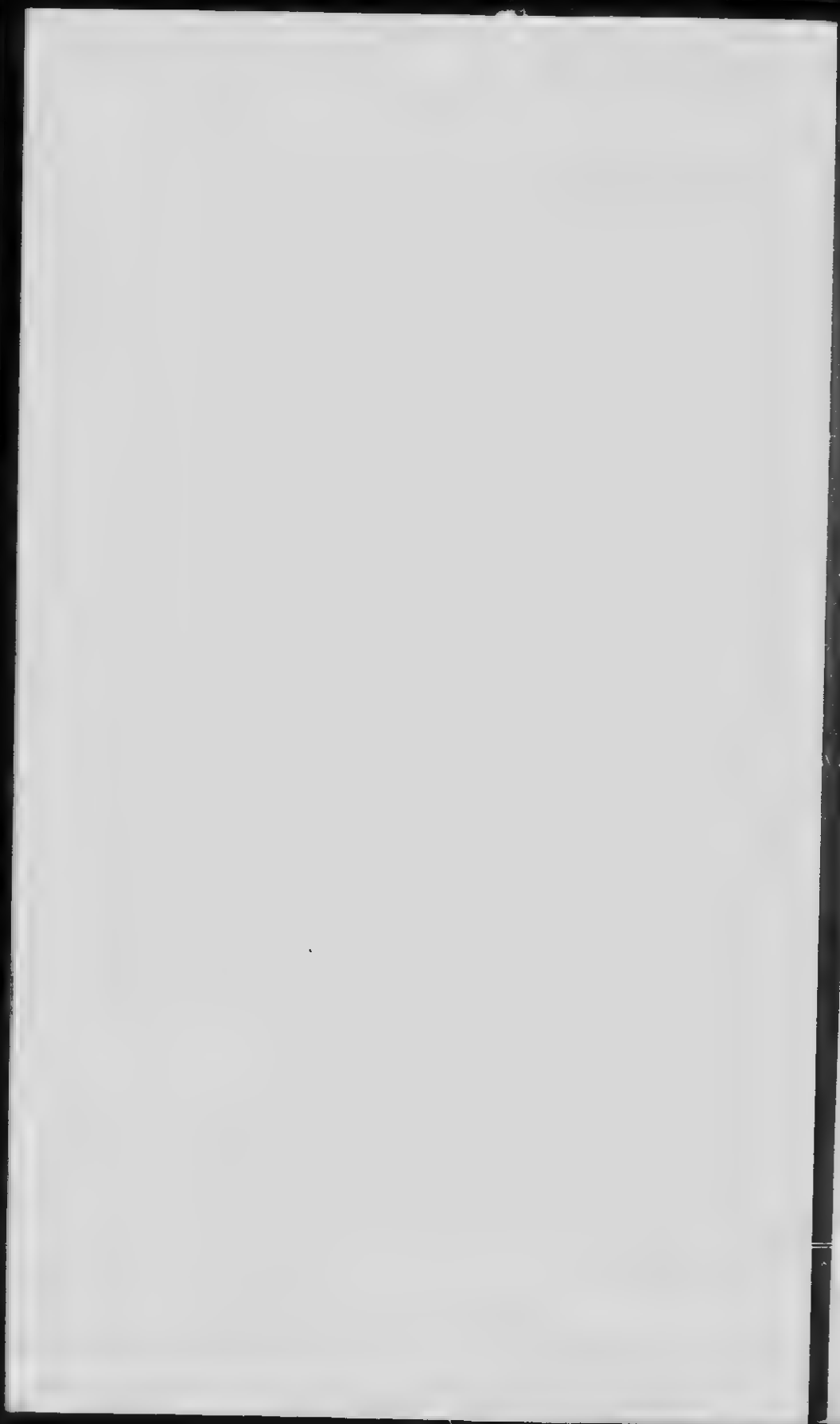


FIG. 9. View of the Settlement of de Monts on St. Croix Island, 1604-5.
 Drawn by Champlain. Original size.



see. The barricade being finished,¹ *Sieur de Monts* sent his *barque*² to notify the rest of our party, who were with our vessel in the Bay of St. Mary,³ to come to St. Croix. This was promptly done, and while awaiting them we spent our time very pleasantly.

Some days after, our vessels⁴ having arrived and anchored, all disembarked. Then without losing time, *Sieur de Monts* proceeded to employ the workmen in building houses for our abode, and allowed me to determine the arrangement of our settlement. After *Sieur de Monts* had determined the place for the store-house, which is nine fathoms⁵ long, three wide, and twelve feet high, he adopted the plan for his own house, which he had promptly built by our good workmen, and then assigned to each one his location.⁶ Straightway, the men began to gather together by fives and sixes, each according to his desire. Then all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make the framework, to carry earth and other things necessary for the building.

While we were building our houses, *Sieur de Monts* despatched Captain *Fouques* in the vessel of *Rossignol*,⁷ to find *Pont Gravé* at *Canso*, in order to obtain for our settlement what supplies remained.

Some time after he had set out, there arrived a small *barque* of eight tons, in which was *du Glas* of *Honfleur*, pilot of *Pont Gravé's* vessel, bringing the Basque shipmasters who had been captured by the above *Pont* while engaged in the fur-trade, as we have stated.⁸ *Sieur de Monts* received them civilly, and sent them back by the above *Du Glas* to *Pont Gravé*, with orders for him to take the vessel he had captured to *Rochelle*, in order that justice might be done. Meanwhile, work on the houses went on vigorously and without cessation; the carpenters engaged on the storehouse and dwelling of *Sieur de Monts*, and the others each on his own house, as I was on mine, which I built with the assistance of some servants belonging to *Sieur d'Orville*⁹ and myself. It

¹ It thus appears that the little islet, now vanished, served as a temporary fort for the safety of the party after their *barque* was sent away.

² This *barque* is frequently mentioned in the narrative. What is doubtless a picture of it is given on *Champlain's* map (Fig. 8) to the northward of the island.

³ Still so called, on the coast of Nova Scotia. It will be remembered that the vessel with the larger part of the men had been left at St. Mary's Bay, while *de Monts* and *Champlain*, with a few men, in a *barque* of eight tons, had explored the coasts and reached St. Croix Island.

⁴ The vessel left at St. Mary's Bay (of which what is doubtless intended as a picture is given on *Champlain's* map, Fig. 8), and that of one *Rossignol* (see note 7 below).

⁵ The fathom was nearly seven feet (see earlier, note 6 on page 155).

⁶ A fuller description of *de Monts's* house, and other particulars about the settlement not mentioned by *Champlain*, are given by *Lescarbot*, as shown later, page 183. Compare also the accompanying plan of the settlement (Fig. 9).

⁷ This vessel had been captured on the Nova Scotia coast while engaged in illicit trading, and had doubtless been brought to St. Croix Island with the vessel from St. Mary's Bay.

⁸ *De Monts* possessed by his charter the sole right of trade with the natives in this region: hence the Basque captains were poachers.

⁹ This is the *Sieur d'Orville*, whose name has been wrongly guessed to have been corrupted into the Devils of Devils Head (see earlier, page 146).

was forthwith completed, and Sieur de Monts lodged in it until his own was finished. An oven was also made, and a handmill for grinding our wheat, the working of which involved much trouble and labour to the most of us, since it was a toilsome operation. Some gardens were afterwards laid out on the mainland¹ as well as on the island, where many kinds of seeds were planted, which flourished very well on the mainland, but not on the island, since there was only sand here, and the whole were burned up when the sun shone, although special pains was taken to water them.

Some days after, Sieur de Monts determined to ascertain where the mine of pure copper was which he had searched for so much.² With this object in view he despatched me together with a savage named Messamouët, who asserted that he knew the place well. I set out in a small barque of five or six tons, with nine sailors. Some eight leagues from the island towards the River St. John, we found a mine of copper which was not pure, yet good according to the report of the miner, who said it would yield eighteen per cent.³ Farther on we found others inferior to this. When we reached the place where we supposed that was, which we were hunting for, the savage could not find it, so that it was necessary to come back, leaving the search for another time.

Upon my return from this trip, Sieur de Monts resolved to send his vessels back to France, and also Sieur de Poutrincourt, who had come only for his pleasure, and to explore countries and places suitable for a colony, which he desired to found; for which reason he asked Sieur de Monts for Port Royal,⁴ which he gave him, in accordance with the power and direction he had received from the King. He sent back also Ralleau, his Secretary, to arrange some matters concerning the voyage. They set out from the Island of St. Croix the last day of August, 1604.

Chapter V. deals with a voyage of exploration made by Champlain, by order of de Monts, as far as Kennebec. Although of very great interest, it does not concern our present subject. He at September 2, and returned to the island October 2.

[51] *DU MAL DE TERRE, FORT CRUELLE MAL-adic. A quoy les hommes & femmes sauvages passent le temps durant l'yuer. Et tout ce qui se passa en l'habitation pendant l'hyuermement.*

CHAPITRE VI.

COMME nous arrivâmes à l'isle St. Croix chacun achevoit de se loger. L'yuer nous surprit plustost que n'esperions, & nous empescha de faire beaucoup de choses que nous nous estions proposées. Neantmoins le sieur de Mons ne [52] laissa de faire faire des lardinages dans l'isle. Beaucoup commencerent à defricher chacun le sien; & moy aussi le mien, qui estoit assez

¹ Shown on Champlain's map (Fig. 8). Their exact location is explained on page 156.

² A mine of copper had been reported from the Bay of Fundy the preceding year by one Sieur Prevert, as related in an earlier volume of Champlain's writings.

³ This mine was probably in the vicinity of Beaver Harbour, where small veins of the copper ore chalcopryite are known.

⁴ Now Annapolis Basin, Nova Scotia. De Monts, as Lieutenant-General, had ample power to make grants of land to intending colonists.

grand, où le semay quantité de graines, comme firent aussi ceux qui en auoient, qui vindrent assez bien. Mais comme l'isle n'estoit que Sable tout y brusloit presque lors que le soleil y donnoit: & n'auions point d'eau pour les arrouser, sinon de celle de pluye, qui n'estoit pas souuent.

Le sieur de Mons fit aussi deffricher à la grande terre pour y faire des lardinages, & aux saults il fit labourer à trois lieues de nostre habitation, & y fit semer du bled qui y vint tresbeau & à maturité. Autour de nostre habitation il y a de basse mer quantité de coquillages, comme coques, moules, ourcins, & bregaux, qui faisoient grand bien à chacun.

Les neges commencerent le 6. du mois d'Octobre. Le 3. de Decembre nous vismes passer des glasses qui venoyent de quelque riuiere qui estoit gallee. Les froidures furent aspres & plus excessiues qu'en France, & beaucoup plus de durée: & n'y pleust presque point cest yuer. Je croy que cela pouloit des vents du nord & norouest, qui passent par dessus de hautes montaignes qui sont tousiours couuertes de neges, que nous eumes de trois à quatre pieds de haut, iusques à la fin du mois d'Auril; & aussi qu'elle [53] se concerue beaucoup plus qu'elle ne feroit si le pais estoit labouré.

Durant l'yuer il se mit vne certaine maladie entre plusieurs de nos gens, appelée mal de la terre, autrement Scurbut, à ce que l'ay ouy dire depuis à des hommes doctes. Il s'engendroit en la bouche de ceux qui l'auoient de gros morceaux de chair superflue & baueuse (qui causoit vne grande putrefaction) laquelle surmontoit tellement, qu'ils ne pouuoient presque prendre aucune chose, sinon que bien liquide. Les dents ne leur tenoient presque point, & les pouuoit on arracher avec les doigts sans leur faire douleur. L'on leur coupoit souuent la superfluité de cette chair, qui leur faisoit ietter force sang par la bouche. Apres il leur prenoit vne grande douleur de bras & de jambes, lesquelles leur demeuerent grosses & fort dures, toutes tachetes comme de morsures de puces, & ne peuoient marcher à cause de la contraction des nerfs: de sorte qu'ils demeuroient presque sans force, & sentoient des douleurs intolerables. Ils auoient aussi douleur de reins, d'estomach & de ventre; vne thoux fort mauuaise, & courte haleine: bref ils estoient en tel estat, que la plupart des malades ne pouuoient se leuer ny remuer, & mesme ne les pouuoit on tenir debout, qu'ils [54] ne tombassent en syncope: de façon que de 79. que nous estions, il en mourent 35. & plus de 20. qui en furent bien prés: La plus part de ceux qui resterent sains, se plaignoient de quelques petites douleurs & courte haleine. Nous ne pusmes trouuer aucun remede pour la curation de ces maladies. L'on en fit ouuerture de plusieurs pour recognoistre la cause de leur maladie.

L'on trouua à beaucoup les parties interieures gastées, comme le poulmon, qui estoit tellement alteré, qu'il ne s'y pouuoit recognoistre aucune humeur radicale: la ratte cereuse & enflée: le foye fort legueux & tachetté, n'ayant sa couleur naturelle: la vaine caue, ascendante & descendante remplie de gros sang agulé & noir: le fiel gasté: Toutesfois il se trouua quantité d'arteres, tant dans le ventre moyen qu'inferieur, d'assez bonne disposition. L'on donna à quelques vns des coups de rasoir dessus les cuisses à l'endroit des taches pourprées qu'ils auoient, d'où il sortoit vn sang caillé fort noir. C'est ce que l'on a peu recognoistre aux corps infectés de cette maladie.

Nos chirurgiens ne peurent si bien faire pour eux mesmes qu'ils n'y soient demeurez comme les autres. Ceux qui y resterent malades furent gueris au printemps; lequel com-[55]mence en ces pays là est en May. Cela nous fit croire que le changement de saison leur rendit plustost la santé que les remedes qu'on leur auoit ordonnés.

Durant cet yuer nos boissons gelerent toutes, horsmis le vin d'Espagne. On donnoit le cidre à la liure. La cause de ceste parte fut qu'il ne auoit point de caues au magasin: & que l'air qui entroit par des fentes y estoit plus aspre que celui de dehors. Nous estions contrainsts d'vser de tresmauuaises eaux, & boire de la nege fondue, pour n'auoir ny fontaines ny ruisseaux: car il n'estoit pas possible d'aller en la grand terre, à cause des grandes glaces que le flus & reflux charloit, qui est de trois brasses de basse & haute mer. Le trauail du moulin à bras estoit fort penible: d'autant que la plus part estans mal couchez, avec l'incommodité du chauffage que nous ne pouuions auoir à cause des glaces, n'auoient quasi point de force, & aussai qu'on ne mangeoit que chair salée & legumes durant l'yuer, qui engendrent de mauuais sang: ce qui à mon opinion causoit en partie ces facheuses maladies. Tout cela donna du mescontentement au sieur de Mons & autres de l'habitation.

Il estoit mal-aisé de recognoistre ce pays sans y auoir yuerné, car y arriuant en été tout y est [56] fort agreable, à cause des bois, beaux pays & bonnes pescherias de poisson de plusieurs sortes que nous y trouuames. Il y a six mois d'yuer en ce pays. . . .

TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the mal de terre, a very desperate malady. How the Indians, men and women, spend their time in winter. And of all that occurred at the settlement while we were passing the winter.

When we arrived at the Island of St. Croix,¹ each one had finished his place of abode. Winter came upon us sooner than we expected, and prevented us from doing many things which we had proposed. Nevertheless, Sieur de Mons did not fail to have some gardens made on the island. Many began to clear up the ground, each his own. I also did so with mine, which was very large,² where I planted a quantity of seeds, as also did the others who had any, and they came up very well. But since the island was all sandy, everything dried up almost as soon as the sun shone upon it, and we had no water for irrigation, except from the rain, which was infrequent.

Sieur de Mons caused also clearings to be made on the mainland for making gardens,³ and at the falls three leagues from our settlement⁴ he had work done and some wheat sown which came up very well and ripened. Around our habitation there is at low tide a large number of shell fish, such as cockles,⁵ mussels, sea-urchins and sea-snails, which were a great boon to all.

The snows began on the sixth of October. On the third of December we saw ice pass which came from some frozen river.⁶ The cold was sharp, more severe than in France, and of much longer duration; and it scarcely rained at

¹ After the journey described in the preceding chapter.

² This was no doubt the garden at L. on the plan (Fig. 9) adjoining Champlain's house.

³ Shown on Champlain's map (Fig. 9).

⁴ At the present site of Calais and St. Stephen.

⁵ He means doubtless clams, which, with the others mentioned, are excessively abundant on this island. (See earlier, page 140).

⁶ Champlain's account of the winter of 1604-5 shows that it was of unusual severity. (See earlier, page 138.) The ice came of course from the head of tide on the St. Croix near Calais and St. Stephen.

all the entire winter. I suppose that is owing to the north and northwest wind passing over high mountains always covered with snow, which was from three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April; lasting much longer, I suppose, than it would if the country were cultivated.

During the winter, many of our company were attacked by a certain malady called the *mal de la terre*; otherwise scurvy, as I have since heard from learned men. There were produced in the mouths of those who had it, great pieces of superfluous and drivelling flesh (causing extensive putrefaction), which got the upper hand to such an extent that scarcely anything but liquid could be taken. Their teeth became very loose, and could be pulled out with the fingers without its causing them pain. The superfluous flesh was often cut out, which caused them to eject much blood through the mouth. Afterwards a violent pain seized their arms and legs, which remained swollen and very hard, all spotted as if with flea bites; and they could not walk on account of the contraction of the muscles so that they were almost without strength and suffered intolerable pains. They experienced pain also in the loins, stomach and bowels, had a very bad cough and short breath. In a word, they were in such a condition that the majority of them could not rise nor move and could not even be raised up on their feet without falling down in a swoon. So that out of seventy-nine, who composed our party, thirty-five died, and more than twenty were on the point of death.¹ The majority of those who remained well also complained of slight pains and short breath. We were unable to find any remedy for these maladies. A post-mortem examination was made of several to investigate the cause of their malady.

In the case of many, the interior parts were found mortified, such as the lungs, which were so changed that no natural fluid could be perceived in them. The spleen was serous and swollen. The liver was *legueux*² and spotted, without its natural colour. The vena cava, superior and inferior, was filled with thick coagulated and black blood. The gall was tainted. Nevertheless, many arteries, in the middle as well as lower bowels, were found in very good condition. In the case of some, incisions with a razor were made on the thigh where they had purple spots, whence there issued a very black clotted blood. This is what was observed on the bodies of those infected with this malady.³

¹ These thirty-five were without doubt buried in the cemetery shown as occupying a little knoll on Champlain's map (Fig. 8). This knoll is now almost entirely washed away, though its position is readily recognisable (Fig. 14), and its only remnant is the slight rise where the birch trees stand at the north entrance to Treats Cove (Fig. 23). It was very probably the exposure of the skeletons of these victims of the scurvy by the washing away of the bank which gave origin to the former name of the island, Bone Island. The keeper of the lighthouse tells me that some years ago he dug up human bones on the site of the garden near the north end of the island (the incident mentioned in Mrs. Crowninshield's "All among the Lighthouses," compare earlier, page 152). He thought them remains of the French settlers, but suggests that they have been those of a negro said locally to have been buried on the island many years ago.

² There appears to be no such word in French, ancient or modern. I can only surmise that it is a misprint for *ligneux*, meaning woody, or wood-like.

³ This disease was of course the scurvy, from which Arctic and other expeditions, obliged to depend upon salt food, suffered so much until recent advances in the regulation of diet have removed all danger from it.

Our surgeons could not help suffering themselves in the same manner as the rest. Those who continued sick were healed by Spring, which commences in this country in May. That led us to believe that the change of season restored their health, rather than the remedies prescribed.

During this winter all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound. The cause of this last was that there were no cellars under our storehouse, and that the air which entered by the cracks was sharper than that outside.¹ We were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks; for it was not possible to go to the mainland in consequence of the great pieces of ice drifted by the tide,² which varies three fathoms between low and high water. Work on the hand mill was very fatiguing, since the most of us, having slept poorly, and suffering from insufficiency of fuel, which we could not obtain on account of the ice, had scarcely any strength, and also because we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produced bad blood. The latter circumstance was, in my opinion, a partial cause of these dreadful maladies.³ All this produced discontent in Sieur de Monts and others of the settlement.

It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for, on arriving here in summer, everything is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country, and many varieties of good fish which are found here. There are six months of winter in this country.

Here follows an account of the customs of the Indians of this region, of much interest and value but not connected with our present subject.

[57] Au mois de Mars ensuivant il vint quelques sauvages qui nous firent part de leur chasse en leur donnant du pain & autres choses en échange. . . .

Nous attendions nos vaisseaux à la fin d'Auril lequel estant passé chacun commença à avoir mauuaise opinion, craignant qu'il ne leur fust arrivé

¹ Of course not a fact.

² Compare earlier, page 138.

³ Aggravated by the enforced idleness of the men, no doubt.

Father Biard, in his Relation of 1616 (*Jesuit Relations*, III., 52), says:—

"Que de toutes les gens du sieur de Monts, qui premierement hyuernerent à Sainte Croix, onse, seulement demeurent en santé. C'estoyent les chasseurs, qui en gaillards compagnons almyent mieux la picorée, que l'air du foyer; courir vn estang, que de se renuerser pasesseusement dans vn lict, de pestrin les neiges en abbattant le gibier, que non pas de deuliser de Paris & ses rotisseurs aupres de feu."

TRANSLATION.

"Of all sieur de Monts's people who wintered first at Sainte Croix, only eleven remained well. These were a jolly company of hunters, who preferred rabbit hunting, to the air of the fireside; skating on the ponds, to turning over lazily in bed; making snowballs to bring down the game, to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks."

These eleven doubtless included de Monts, Champlain, and the other gentlemen of the party many of whom had come on the expedition in search of adventure.

quelque fortune, qui fut occasion que le 15. de May le sieur de Mons delibera de faire accomoder vne barque du port de 15. tonneaux, & vn autre de 7. afin de nous en aller à la fin du mois de Juin à Gaspé, chercher des vaisseaux pour retourner en France, si cependant les nostres ne venoient: mais Dieu nous assista mieux que nous n'esperions: car le 15. de Juin ensuiuant estans en garde enuiron sur les onze heures du soir, le Pont Capitaine de l'un des vaisseaux du sieur de Mons arriua dans vne chaloupe, lequel nous dit que son nauire estoit ancré à six lieues de nostre ha-[58]bitation, & fut le bien venu au contentement d'un chacun.

Le landemain le vaisseau arriua, & vint mouiller l'ancre proche de nostre habitation. Le pont nous fit entendre qu'il venoit après luy vn vaisseau de S. Maslo appelé le S. Estienne, pour nous apporter des viures & commoditez.

Le 17. du mois le sieur de Mons se delibera d'aller chercher vn lieu plus propre pour habiter & de meilleure temperature que la nostre: Pour cest effect il fit équiper la barque dedans laquelle il auoit pensé aller à Gaspé.

TRANSLATION.

. . . . In the month of March following, some savages came and gave us a portion of their game in exchange for bread and other things which we gave them.

We looked for our vessels at the end of April; but, as this passed without their arrival, all began to have an ill-boding, fearing that some accident had befallen them. For this reason, on the fifteenth of May, Sieur de Monts decided to have a barque of fifteen tons and another of seven fitted up, so that we might go at the end of the month of June to Gaspé, in quest of vessels in which to return to France, in case our own should not have arrived. But God helped us better than we hoped; for on the fifteenth of June ensuing, while on guard about eleven o'clock at night, Pont Gravé, Captain of one of the vessels of Sieur de Monts, arriving in a shallop, informed us that his ship was anchored six leagues from our settlement, and he was welcomed amid the great joy of all.

The next day the vessel arrived, and anchored near our habitation. Pont Gravé informed us that a vessel from St. Malo, called the St. Estienne, was following him, bringing us provisions and supplies.

On the seventeenth of the month, Sieur de Monts decided to go in quest of a place better adapted for an abode, and with better temperature than our own. With this view, he had the barque made ready in which he had proposed to go to Gaspé.

Chapters VII., VIII., IX. deal with a voyage made by de Monts, Champlain and others, as far as Cape Cod. They started June 18, and returned August 2.

[95] *L'HABITATION QUI ESTOIT EN L'ISLE DE S. Croix transportée au port Royal, & pourquoy.*

CHAPITRE X.

LE sieur de Mons se delibera de changer de lieu & faire vne autre habitation pour esuiter aux froidures & mauuais yuer qu'auons eu en l'isle saincte Croix. N'ayant trouué aucun port qui nous fut propre pour lors, & le peu de temps que nous auons à nous loger & bastir des maisons à cest effect,

nous fit équiper deux barques, que l'on chargea de la charpenterie des maisons de sainte Croix, pour la porter au port Royal, à 25 lieues de là, où l'on jugeoit y estre la demeure beaucoup plus douce & tempérée. Le Pont & moy partismes pour y aller; où estans arriuez cerchasmes vn lieu propre pour la situation de nostre logement [96] & à l'abry du norouest, que nous redoutions pour en auoir esté fort tourmentez.

TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER X.

The Dwelling-place on the Island of St. Croix transferred to Port Royal, and the reason why.

Sieur de Monts determined to change his location, and make another settlement, in order to avoid the severe cold and the bad winter which we had in the Island of St. Croix. As we had not, up to that time, found any suitable harbour, and, in view of the short time we had for building houses in which to establish ourselves, we fitted out two barques, and loaded them with the framework taken from the houses of St. Croix, in order to transport it to Port Royal, twenty-five leagues distant, where we thought the climate was much more temperate and agreeable. Pont Gravé and I set out for that place; and, having arrived, we looked for a site favourable for our residence, under shelter from the northwest wind, which we dreaded, having been very much harrassed by it.

Such is the history of de Monts' unhappy colony on St. Croix Island, as told in the matter-of-fact language of an eye-witness, the great Champlain. There exists also another much briefer account, possibly also by him, which supplies some additional details, that in *Le Mercure François* for 1608 (ll. 294-295), which reads as follows:—

Le septiesme de Mars l'an 1604. le sieur de Monts partit avec deux nauires du Haure de Grace, pour y commencer ladite habitation, & y demeurer en Hyuer. Arrivé qu'il y fut apres auoir eu plusieurs tourmentes sur mer, il dressa sa premiere habitation en la riuere de Canada, dans l'Isle de S. Croix. où il feit vn fort qu'il garnit de canon, & de plusieurs bastiments de charpenterie: Il y en aucuns qui se cabannerent à la mode des Sauvages: Bref ils desfricherent l'Isle, recogneurent quelques lieux es enuirons, où ils semerent des grains, & mirent le meilleur ordre qu'ils peurent pour y hyuerner: cependant que le sieur de Poitracourt qui l'auoit accompagné en ce voyage, s'en retourna en France avec les deux nauires, qui emporterent plusieurs balles de Castors & autres marchandises de pelletrie.

L'Hyuer venir, qui est tres-rigoureux en ce pays-là, ces nouveaux habitants en receurent de grandes incommodités, premierement de bois, & d'eau douce, n'ayans qu'un seul bateau pour passer la grande riuere & en aller querir, car leur barque n'estoit raccommodée: puis ce fut pitié pour les geles & neiges, qui y furent si grandes, que le cidre gela dans les tonneaux, & le vin ne s'y distribuoit plus que par certains iours de la sepmaine: plusieurs qui beurent de l'eau de neige deuindrent incontinent malades de maladies incogneues en l'Europe, pareilles à celles qu'eurent ceux qui y accompagnerent autresfois Jacques Quartier: Les jambes leur deuenoient premierement grosses & enflées, les nerfs retirés & noirs, puis la maladie leur montoit aux

hanches, cuisses, espauls, aux bras & au col; la bouche leur deuenoit si infecte d'une chair pourrie laquelle y surabondoit & renaissoit du iour au lendemain quand on la pensoit enleuer, qu'en peu de temps trente-six en moururent: Il y en eut quarante ou enuiron lesquels en guerirent quand le Printemps fut reuenu.

L'Huyet passé, le sieur des Monts fit equipper la barque pour aller decouurer nouuelles terres où l'habitation peust estre plus saine qu'à St. Croix: il costoya plusieurs pays iusques à Malebarre, mais n'ayant trouué le lieu propre il s'en reuint à sa premiere habitation, attendant quelque nauire pour s'en retourner en France. Comme il estoit en ces termes, arriua le sieur du Pont-Graué de Honfleur avec vne compagnie de quelques quarante hommes pour le secourir: Ceste venuë fit qu'ils aduiserent ensemble d'aller faire la demeure à vn Port que le sieur de Poutrincourt auoit demandé audit sieur de Monts pour y habiter à leur retour, & l'auoit appelé le Port-Royal, qui est dans la Baye Française.

Ceste resolution prise, chacun desfaict son logis: on transporte tout à la nouvelle habitation.

TRANSLATION.

On the seventeenth of March in the year 1604, Sieur de Monts set out with two vessels from Havre de Grace to commence there the aforementioned settlement, and to winter there. Having arrived there after experiencing several storms at sea, he established his first settlement in the river of Canada¹ on the Isle St. Croix, where he built a fort which he provided with cannon, and with several framed buildings. Some constructed huts for themselves after the Indian manner. In short, they cleared the island, explored several places in its neighbourhood, where they sowed seeds, and placed everything in the best order they could for passing the winter. Meanwhile the sieur de Poutrincourt who had accompanied him in this voyage, returned to France with the two ships which carried several bales of beaver and other kinds of fur.

The winter, which is very severe in that country, having set in, these new settlers suffered great hardships, especially for want of wood and fresh water, as they had but a single boat for passing the great river in search of these things, for their barque was not in repair. Then it was pitiful, for the ice and snow were so great there that the cider froze in the casks, and the wine was served only on certain days of the week. Many who drank of the snow water fell suddenly ill of diseases unknown in Europe, similar to those which they had who formerly accompanied Jacques Cartier. First their legs became thick and swollen, the muscles shrunken and black; then the disease crept up to the hips, thighs and shoulders, to the arms and neck; their mouths became so charged with rotten flesh which spread all over and grew afresh between night and morning when it was sought to remove it, that in a short time thirty-six of them died of it. There were about forty men who were cured of it when Spring returned.

The winter being over, Sieur de Monts fitted out the barque to go to seek new lands where a settlement would be more healthful than at St. Croix.

¹ This is an expression I do not understand, for the "River of Canada" was the St. Lawrence. Champlain could hardly have made such a mistake, which is evidence against his authorship of this account.

He coasted past several countries as far as Malebarre, but not finding a fitting place, he returned to his first settlement expecting some ship in which to return to France. Whilst he was in this position, the Sieur de Pont-Gravé of Honfleur, with a company of some forty men, arrived to aid him. On his arrival they considered together. This decided them to settle at a Port which the Sieur de Pontrincourt had asked of the said Sieur de Monts to settle on his return; he had called it Port Royal, and it is in the Baye Française [Bay of Fundy].

This determined upon, each one took down his house, and all were transported to the new settlement.

There is, happily, yet another contemporary account of these events, that by the historian Lescarbot, who, though not himself a witness of them, spent two winters at Port Royal, 1606-1608, with many of those, including Champlain, who had been at St. Croix Island with de Monts. Doubtless the events of that first winter were often discussed around the fires at Port Royal during the long winter evenings, and Lescarbot's ready note-book must have been often in use. Lescarbot's narrative shows more liveliness and imagination than Champlain's, and contains many facts not in the latter's works. The parts relating to our present subject, as given in the 1612 edition of his History, read thus:¹—

CHAP. III.

[460] . . . ilz vindrent . . . en vne grande riviere (qui est proprement mer) où ilz se camperent en vne petite ile size au milieu de cette riviere, que ledit sieur Champlain avoit esté reconoitre. Et la voyant forte de nature, [461] & de facile garde, joint que la saison commençoit à se passer, & partant falloit penser de se loger, sans plus courir, ilz resolurent de s'y arrêter. Je ne veux point rechercher curieusement les raisons des vns & des autres sur la resolution de cette demeure, mais je seray toujours d'avis que quiconque va en vn pais pour posseder la terre ne s'arrête point aux îles pour y estre prisonnier.

Car avant toutes choses il faut se proposer la culture d'icelle terre. Et je demanderois volontiers comme on la cultivera s'il faut à toute heure, matin, midi & soir passer avec grand'peine vn large trajet d'eau pour aller aux choses qu'on requiert de la terre ferme? Et si on craint l'ennemi, comment se sauvera celui qui sera au labourage ou ailleurs en affaires necessaires, estant poursuivi? car on ne trouve point toujours de bateau à point nommé, ni deux hommes pour le conduire. D'ailleurs notre vie ayant besoin de plusieurs commodités, vne île n'est pas propre pour commencer l'établissement d'une colonie s'il n'y a des courans d'eau douce pour le boire, & le menage, ce qui n'est point en des petites îles. Il faut du bois pour le chauffage: ce qui n'y est point semblablement. Mais sur tout il faut avoir les abris des mauvais vents, & des froidures: ce qui est difficile de trouver en vn petit espace environné d'eau de toutes parts. Neantmoins la compagnie s'arrêta là au milieu d'une

¹ The following passages from Lescarbot agree in all essentials with the 1612 edition, as kindly corrected for me by Mr. Paltsits; but they differ in some details of typography which could not be exactly rendered by the modern type.

riviere large où le vent de Nort & de Norouët bat à plaisir. Et d'autant qu'à deux lieues au dessus il y a des ruisseaux qui viennent comme en croix se déchar[462]ger dans ce large bras de mer, cette ile de la retraite des François fut appelée SAINTE CROIX, à vingt-cinq lieues plus loin que le Port-Royal. Or ce-pendant qu'on commencera à couper & abbatre les Cedres & autres arbres de ladite ile pour faire les batiments necessaires, retournons chercher Maître Nicolas Aubri, perdu dans les bois, lequel on tient pour mort il y a long temps.

Comme on estoit apres à desserter l'ile, le sieur Champ-doré fut renvoyé à la Baye Sainte Marie avec vn maître de mines qu'on y avoit mené pour tirer de la mine d'argent & de fer: ce qu'ilz firent. [463] Le pauvre Aubri estoit merveilleusement extenué, comme on peut penser. On lui bailla à manger par mesure, & le remena-ou vers le troupe à l'ile Sainte Croix, dont chacun receut vne incroyable joye & consolation, & particulièrement le sieur de Monts, à qui cela touchoit plus qu'à tout autre.

[464] Or apres qu'on l'eut fétoyé & sejourné encore par quelque temps à ordonner les affaires, & reconoitre la terre des environs l'ile Sainte Croix, on parla de renvoyer les navires en France avant l'hiver, & à tant se disposerent au retour ceux qui n'estoient allez là pour hiverner. Ce-pendant les Sauvages de tous les environs venoient pour voir le train des François, & se rangeoient volontiers aupres d'eux: mêmes en certains differens faisoient le sieur de Monts juge de leurs débats, qui est vn commencement de sujection volontaire, d'où on peut concevoir vne esperance que ces peuples se rangeront bien tôt à nôtre façon de vivre.

[465] Entre autres choses survenues avant le partement desdits navires, avint vn jour qu'un Sauvage nommé *Bituani* trouvant bonne la cuisine dudit sieur de Monts, s'y estoit arrêté, & y rendoit quelque service: & neantmoins faisoit l'amour à vne fille pour l'avoir en mariage, laquelle ne pouvant avoir de gré & du consentement du pere, il la ravit, & la print pour femme. Là dessus gresse querelle. Et en fin la fille lui est enlevée, & retourne avec son pere. Vn grand debat se preparoit, n'eust esté qu'il *Bituani* s'estant plaint de cette injure audit sieur de Monts, les autres vindrent defendre leur cause, disans, à sçavoir le pere assisté de ses amis, qu'il ne vouloit point bailler sa fille à vn homme qui n'eust quelque industrie pour nourrir elle & les enfans qui proviendroient du mariage: Que quant à lui il ne voyoit point qu'il sceut rien faire: Qu'il s'amusoit à la cuisine de lui sieur de Monts, & ne s'exerçoit point à chasser. Somme qu'il n'auroit point la fille, & devoit se contenter de ce qui s'estoit passé. Ledit sieur de Monts les ayant ouys il leur remontra qu'il ne le detenait point, & qu'il estoit gentil garçon, & qu'il iroit à la chasse pour donner preuve de ce qu'il sçavoit faire. Mais pour tout cela, si ne voulurent-ils point lui rendre la fille qu'il n'eust montré par effet ce que ledit sieur de Monts promettoit. Bref il va à la chasse (du poisson) prend force saumons: La fille lui est rendue, & le lendemain il vint revêtu d'un beau manteau de castors tout neuf bien orné de *Matachiaz*, au Fort qu'on [466] commençoit à bâtir pour les François, amenant sa femme quant & lui, comme triomphant & victorieux, l'ayant gaignée de bonne guerre: laquelle il a toujours depuis fort aimée par dessus la coutume des autres Sauvages: donnant à entendre que ce qu'on acquiert avec peine on le doit bien cherir.

[468, i.e., 469] *Description de l'île Sainte Croix: Entrepise du sieur de Monts difficile, & genereuse: et persecutée d'envies. Retour du sieur de Poutrincourt en France:*

CHAP. V.

DEVANT que parler du retour des navires en France, il nous faut dire que l'île de sainte Croix est difficile à trouver à qui n'y a esté. Car il y a tant d'îles & de grandes bayes à passer devant qu'on y soit, que le m'etonne comme on avoit penetré si avant pour l'aller trouver. Il y a trois ou quatre montagnes eminentes par dessus les autres aux côtes: mais de la part du Nort d'où descend la riviere, il n'y en a sinon vne pointuë éloignée de plus de deux lieues. Les bois de la terre ferme sont beaux & relevez par admiration & les herbages sensiblement. Il y a des ruisseaux d'eau douce tres-agreables vis à-vis de l'île, où plusieurs des gens du sieur de Monts faisoient leur menage, & y avoient cabanné. Quant à la nature de la terre, elle est tresbonne et heureusement abondante. Car ledit sieur de Monts y ayant fait cultiver quelque quartier de terre, & icelui ensemencé de seigle (le n'y ay point veu du froment), il n'eut moyen d'attendre la maturité d'icelui, pour le recueillir: & neantmoins le grain tombé a sur[470]creu & rejeté si merveilleusement, que deux ans apres nous en recueillîmes d'aussi beau, gros, & pesant qu'il y en ait point en France, que la terre avoit produit sans culture: & de present il continuë à repulluler tous les ans. Ladite île ha environ demi lieue de tour, & au bout du côté de la mer il y a vne tertre, & comme vne îlot separé où estoit placé le canon dudit sieur de Monts, & là aussi est la petite chappelle batie à la Sauvage. Au pied d'icelle il y a des moules tant que c'est merveilles, lesquelles on peut amasser de basse mer, mais elles sont petites. Je ciry que les gens dudit sieur de Monts ne s'oublièrent point à prendre les plus grosses, & n'y laisserent que la semence & menuë generation. Or quant à ce qui est de l'exercice & occupation de nos François, durant le temps qu'ils ont esté là, nous le toucherons sommairement apres que nous aurons reconduit les navires en France.

. . . . Les navires du sieur de Monts retournans en France, [471] le voilà demeuré en vne triste lieu avec vne bateau & vne barque tant seulement. [472] Le sieur de Poutrincourt avoit fait le voyage par dela avec quelques hommes de mise, non pour y hiverner, mais comme pour y aller marquer son logis, & reconoitre vne terre qui lui fust agreable. Ce qu'ayant fait, il n'avoit besoin d'y sejourner plus long temps. Par ainsi les navires estans prêts à partir pour le retour, il se mit & ceux de sa compagnie dedans l'un d'iceux.

[474] ayant le dit sieur de Poutrincourt laissé ses armes & munitions de guerre en l'île sainte Croix en la garde dudit sieur de Monts, comme vn arre & gage de la bonne volonté qu'il avoit d'y retourner.

[475] *Batimens de l'île Sainte Croix: Incommodités des François audit lieu: Maladies inconnues.*

CHAP. VI.

PENDANT la navigation susdite le sieur de Monts faisoit travailler à son Fort lequel il avoit assis au bout de l'île à l'opposite du lieu où nous avons dit qu'il avoit logé son canon. Ce qui estoit prudemment considéré, à fin de tenir toute la riviere sujete en haut & en bas. Mais il y avoit vn mal que ledit Fort estoit du côté du Nort, & sans [476] aucun abri,

hors que des arbres qui estoient sur la rive de l'île, lesquels tout a l'environ il avoit defendu d'abattre. Et hors icelui Fort il y avoit le logis des Suisses grand & ample, & autres petits representans comme vn faux-bourg. Quelques-vns s'estoient cabannés en la terre ferme pres le ruisseau. Mais dans le Fort estoient le logis dudit sieur de Monts fait d'une belle & artificielle charpenterie, avec la banniere de France au dessus. D'une autre part estoit le magasin, où reposoit le salut & la vie d'un chacun, fait semblablement de belle charpenterie, & couvert de bardeaux. Et vis à vis du magasin estoient les logis & maisons des sieurs d'Orville, Chanplein, Champ-doré, & autres notables personages. A l'opposite dulongis dudit sieur de Monts estoit vne galerie couverte pour l'exercice soit du jeu ou des ouvriers en temps de pluie. Et entre ledit Fort & la Plateforme où estoit le canon, tout estoit rempli de jardinages, à quoy chacun s'exerçoit de galeté de cœur. Tout l'automne se passa à ceci: & ne fut pas mal allé de s'estre logé & avoir defriché l'île avant l'hiver, tandis que pardeça on faisoit courir les levrets souz le nom de maitre Guillaume, farcis de toutes sortes de nouvelles: par lesquels entre autres choses ce pronostiqueur disoit que le sieur de Monts arrachoit des épines en *Canada*. Et quand tout est bien considéré, c'est bien vraiment arracher des épines que de faire de telles entreprises remplies de fatigues & perils continuels, de soins, d'angoisse, & d'incommoditez. Mais la vertu & le cou[477]-rage qui dompte toutes ces choses fait que ces épines ne sont qu'œillets & roses à ceux qui se resolvent à ces actions héroïques pour se rendre recommandables à la memoire des hommes, & ferment les yeux aux plaisirs des doulllets qui ne sont bons qu'à garder la chambre.

Les choses plus necessaires estant faites, & le pere grisart, c'est à dire l'hiver, estant venu, force fut de garder la maison, & vivre vn chacun chez soy. Durant lequel temps nos gens eurent trois incommoditez principales en cette île, à-savoir faute de bois (car ce qui estoit en ladite île avoit servi aux batimens) faut d'eau douce, & le guet qu'on faisoit de nuit craignant quelque surprise des Sauvages qui estoient cabanés au pied de ladite île, ou autre ennemi. Car la malediction & rage de beaucoup de Crétiens est telle, qu'il se faut plus donner garde d'eux, que des peuples infideles. Chose que le dis à regret: mais à la mienne volonté que le fusse menteur en ce regard, & que le sujet de le dire fust ôté. Or quand il falloit avoir de l'eau ou du bois on estoit contraint de passer la riviere qui est plus de trois fois aussi large que la Seine de chacun côté. C'estoit chose penible & de longue haleine. De sort qu'il falloit retenir le bateau bien souvent vn jour devant que le pouvoir obtenir. Là-dessus les froidures & neiges arrivent & la gelée si forte que le cidre estoit glacé dans les tonneaux, & falloit à chacun bailler sa mesure au poid. Quant au vin il n'estoit distribué que par certains jours de la semaine. Plusieurs paresseux buvoient de l'eau de nege, sans pren[478]dre le peine de passer la riviere. Bref voici des maladies inconnues semblables à celles que le Capitaine Jacques Quartier nous a representées ci-dessus, lesquelles pour cette cause je ne decriray pas, pour ne faire vne repetition vaine. De remede il ne s'en trouvoit point. Tandis les pauvres malades languissoient, se consommans peu à peu, n'ayans aucune douceur comme de laitage ou bouillie, pour sustenter cet estomach qui ne pouvoit recevoir les viandes solides, à-cause de l'empechement d'une chair pourrie qui croissoit & surabondoit dans la bouche, & quand on le pensoit enlever elle renaissoit du jour au lendemain plus abondamment que devant. Quant à l'Arbre *Anneda* duquel ledit Quartier fait mention, les Sauvages de ces terres ne le connoissent point.

Si bien que c'estoit grande pitié de voir tout le monde en langueur, excepté bien peu, les pauvres malades mourir tous vifs sans pouvoir estre secourus. De cette maladie il y en mourut trente-six, & autres trente-six, ou quarante, qui en estoient touchés guerirent à l'aide du printemps si-tot qu'il fust venu. Mais la saison de mortalité en icelle maladie sont la fin de Janvier, le mois de Fevrier & Mars, ausquels meurent ordinairement les malades chacun à son rang selon qu'ils ont commencé de bonne heure à estre indisposés : de maniere que celui qui commencera sa maladie en Fevrier & Mars pourra échapper: mais qui se hatera trop, & voudra se mettre au lit en Decembre & Janvier il sera en danger de mourir en Fevrier, Mars, ou au commencement [479] d'Avril, lequel temps passé il est en esperance & comme en assurance de salut.

[496]

L A saison dure estant passée, le sieur de Monts, ennuyé de cette triste demeure de Sainte Croix, delibera de chercher vn autre port en pais plus chaud & plus au Su :

[499] Et à-tant ledit sieur de Monts fit appareiller pour retourner à sainte Croix, où il avoit laissé vn bon nombre de ses gens encore infirmes de la secousse des maladies hivernales, de la santé desquels il estoit soucieux.

[501] *Arrivée du sieur du Pont à l'île sainte Croix: Habitation transférée au Port Royal:*

CHAP. VIII.

L A saison du printemps passée au voyage des Armouchiquois, le sieur de Monts attendit à Sainte Croix le temps qu'il avoit convenu: dans lequel s'il n'avoit nouvelles de France il pourroit partir & venir chercher quelque vaisseau de ceux qui viennent à la Terre-neuve pour la pêcherie du poisson, à fin de repasser en France dans icelui avec sa troupe, s'il estoit possible. Ces temps dès-ja estoit expiré, & estoient prêts à faire voile, n'attendants plus aucun secours ni rafraichissemens, quand voici arriver le sieur du Pont, surnommé Gravé, demeurant à Honfleur, avec vne compagnie de quelques quarante hommes, pour relever de sentinelle ledit sieur de Monts & sa troupe. Ce fut au grand contentement d'vn chacun, comme l'on peut penser: & canonades ne manquerent à l'abord, selon la coutume, ni l'éclat des trompetes. Ledit sieur du [502] Pont ne sachant encore l'état de nos François, pensoit trouver là vne demeure bien assurée, & ses logemens prêts: mais attendu les accidens de la maladie étrange dont nous avons parlé, il fut avisé de changer le lieu. Le sieur de Monts eust bien désiré que l'habitation nouvelle eust esté comme par les quarante degrez savoir à six degrez plus au Midl que le lieu de Sainte Croix: mais apres avoir veu la côte jusques à Malebarre, & avec beaucoup de peines, sans trouver ce qu'il desiroit, on delibera d'aller au Port Royal faire la demeure, attendant qu'il y eust moyen de faire plus ample decouverte. Ainsi voila chacun embezoigné à trousseur son paquet: on demolit ce qu'on avoit bati avec mille travaux, hors-mis le magasin, qui estoit vne piece trop grande à transporter, & en execution de ceci plusieurs voyages se font. Tout estant arrivé au Port-Royal.

TRANSLATION.

*Description of Isle Sainte Croix. Disputes among the
Indians referred to the decision of Sieur de Monts.*

CHAPTER III.

. they came into a large river, (which is properly a part of the sea), where they encamped on a little island in the middle of the river which the said Sieur de Champlain had been to reconnoitre.¹ And seeing it naturally strong and easy of defense, besides the season was slipping away so that it was time to think of lodging themselves, without going farther they resolved to stop there. I do not wish to inquire too closely into the various reasons for the decision as to this dwelling, but I shall always be of the opinion that whosoever goes to a country to take possession of it should not make themselves prisoners upon islands.²

For, before everything else, the cultivation of the land must be regarded. And I would fain ask how one will cultivate it if he must at all hours, morning, noon and night, cross with much trouble a large passage of water to go for the things one requires from the mainland. And if one fears the enemy, how will he be saved if working in the fields or at other necessary work he is pursued? For one does not always find a boat in time of need nor two men ready to manage it. Further, our life having need of many comforts, an island is not good for commencing a colony if there is not running fresh water for drinking and household needs, something which is not found in little islands. Wood is needed for fuel, which likewise is not there. But above everything there is needed protection from the violent winds and the cold, which it is hard to find on a little island totally surrounded by water.³ Never-

¹ This seems to imply that Champlain discovered the island when unaccompanied by de Monts. This is more explicitly stated by Charlevoix in his *History of New France* (Shea's Translation, I., 252), where he tells of Champlain exploring the coast in a sloop and pushing on to the Island, where, "M. de Monts arriving soon after," etc. Charlevoix in 1744, as his references show, had no source of information on this subject not open to us now, so that his statement doubtless rests upon this passage in Lescarbot. The entire narrative of Champlain shows, however, that he and de Monts were together on this voyage, and if Lescarbot really means that Champlain discovered the island, it must be that he found it while exploring in the small boat while de Monts in the barque was exploring some other part of the immediate neighbourhood, perhaps the Magaguadavic or other part of Passamaquoddy Bay. In this connection the Indian legends given on a later page (page 189) may be noted; it is possible that de Monts was erecting a cross at the mouth of the Magaguadavic, while Champlain, to save time, explored beyond in the smaller boat, and found this river and island.

² This idea is also expressed by Sir William Alexander in his "Encouragement to Colonies," 1624, when he says, referring to this settlement,—"In the end finding that a little Ile was but a kind of large prison."

³ These arguments against settling on islands are sound, but how much easier it is to be wise after than before the event! It is reasonably certain that had Lescarbot been with de Monts in 1604, he too would have been convinced from the data at his command (on which compare earlier, page 141) Sec. II., 1902. 12.

theless the company stopped there in the middle of a big river where the north and northwest winds sweep at their will. And since two leagues above there are rivers which form a cross at their discharge into this large arm of the sea, this island of the refuge of the French was called *Sainte Croix*; it is twenty-five leagues beyond Port Royal.

Now whilst they began to cut and fell the cedars and other trees of the said island in order to construct the necessary buildings, let us return to seek Master Nicolas Aubri, who had been lost in the woods, and long since believed to be dead.¹

When the island was being cleared, the *sieur Champdoré* was sent to St. Marys Bay with a mining expert who had been brought with them to take samples from the mine of silver and iron, which they did.² The poor Aubri was wonderfully wasted, as one would suppose. They gave him food by degrees, and took him to the company at Isle St. Croix, whence everyone was completely overjoyed and relieved, and particularly the *Sieur de Monts*, who was touched by this as by nothing else. . .

Now after having feasted him³ and remained some time to arrange matters and to explore the country around Isle *Sainte Croix*, they spoke of sending the ships back to France before the winter and at the same time arranged for the return of those who had not come there to winter.⁴ In the meantime the Indians from all the neighbourhood came to see the outfit of the French, and placed themselves voluntarily near them;⁵ even in certain disputes making the *sieur de Monts* judge of their discussions, which is a commencement of a voluntary submission from which one may take hope that these people will adopt entirely our mode of life.

Amongst other things which happened before the departure of the vessels, it came about one day that an Indian named *Bituani*, who had found the kitchen of *Sieur de Monts* attractive, and had established himself there, rendering some service, in the meantime made love to a girl with a view of having her in marriage; but not being able to bring this about with the

that the island was a suitable site for a settlement. It must be remembered that it was only after experiencing the winter of 1604-1605 that its disadvantages as a site of a settlement were, or could be, known.

¹ Had we not this statement of Lescarbot the origin of the name *Sainte Croix* applied to this island would have remained uncertain, but with it there is no doubt. (Compare earlier, page 144.)

² The priest (as Champlain says he was), who was lost at St. Mary's Bay some two weeks earlier, as related both by Champlain and Lescarbot. He was found by Champdoré on his arrival at St. Mary's Bay.

³ Evidently this was the same expedition mentioned by Champlain, when he says that de Monts sent the barque to notify the remainder of the party who were in St. Mary's Bay, etc. (Compare earlier, page 165.)

⁴ Viz., Nicholas Aubri.

⁵ *Sieur de Poutrincourt* and others.

⁶ They encamped apparently at the foot of the island, (later, page 182), and for them doubtless the chapel, built after the Indian fashion, (Fig. 8, 14), was intended (compare later note 4, page 182). Indian relics have been found on the island, notably a number of wampum beads, now in possession of Rev. Jos. Lee, of Red Beach, Maine.

liking and consent of her father, he ravished her and married her to wife. Then ensued a great quarrel. Finally the girl is taken away from him and returned to her father. A great debate impended, had it not been that the said *Bituani* having complained of this injury to the *Sieur de Monts*, the others came to defend their cause, saying, that is the father assisted by his friends, that he would not entrust his daughter to a man who had not the industry to support her and the children which would result from the marriage. That as to him [*Bituani*] he saw nothing that he could do, that he loitered about the kitchen of the *Sieur de Monts*, and did not exert himself in hunting, and finally that he should not have the girl, and ought to be satisfied with that which was past. The *Sieur de Monts* having heard both parties, remarked that he did not detain him [*Bituani*], that he was a good youth and should go a hunting to show what he could do. But for all that they would not restore the maid to him until he had shown in fact that which the *Sieur de Monts* had promised for him. Finally he went a fishing, and took a great haul of salmon. The girl is returned to him, and the next day following he came, clothed in a beautiful new robe of beaver skins, very well ornamented with wampum, to the fort which was then a building for the Frenchmen, bringing his wife with him as triumphing in his victory, having gained her in fair fight. He has ever since loved her well, contrary to the Indian custom, giving us to understand that what is acquired with trouble ought to be much cherished.¹

CHAPTER V.

Description of Isle Sainte Croix. Enterprise of the Sieur de Monts, difficult and public-spirited, but persecuted by envy: Return of the Sieur de Poutrincourt to France.

Before speaking of the return of the ships to France, it should be said that the Isle St. Croix is hard to find for one who has not been there, for there are so many islands and bays to pass before one gets there that I am astonished how they penetrated so far to find it. There are three or four mountains prominent above the others on the banks, but on the north from which the river descends there is nothing but a sharp pointed one over two leagues distant.² The woods of the mainland are fair and admirable, and the grass is the same. There are two very pleasing streams of fresh water opposite the island, where several of the men of *Sieur de Monts* did their house-keeping, and had built huts there.³ As to the nature of the land, it is very

¹ These mountains are evidently the loftier ones along the Canadian shore (Fig. 2), Chamcook and Greenlaw, with McLaughlans, Simpsons and Leigh-ton. The sharp pointed one two leagues distant is plainly on Cooksons Island in Oak Bay, and his special reason for mentioning it in this way is no doubt to show how unprotected was the island from the north winds.

² One would think he referred here to the two streams at Red Beach, Beaver Lake Brook and Lows Brook (Fig. 2), were it not that Champlain's map (Fig. 8) marks a camp or cabin beside the gardens at Johnsons Cove on the Canadian shore, implying that this was one of the two, and Beaver Lake Brook the other. The former stream is, however, at present extremely small, little more than a swale, running only in times of much rain. In the wooded condition of the country it may then have been more constant. Lescarbot (see later, page 83), implies that some of the men took up their abode on the mainland.

good, and gratifyingly productive. For the sieur de Monts having had a certain piece of land there¹ cultivated and sown with rye (I have not seen any wheat there), he was not able to await its ripening before gathering it, but nevertheless the grain grew to excess, and reproduced so wonderfully that two years² afterwards we gathered it as fine, large and heavy as it ever is in France which the land had produced without cultivation, and at present it continues to multiply every year. The said island is about a half league in circuit, and at the end of it, on the sea side, there is a hillock, as it were a separated islet,³ where the Sieur de Monts placed his cannon, and there also is the little chapel built after the Indian fashion.⁴ At its foot are shellfish so many that it is wonderful, which are gathered at low water, but they are small. I believe that the men of the Sieur de Monts were careful to take the larger, leaving there the spawn and the smaller generation.⁵ Now as to the activities and occupation of our Frenchmen whilst they were on the Island, we shall give a summary after we have followed the ships back to France.

. . . . The ships of Sieur de Monts returning to France left him there in a desolate place with one boat and a barque only.⁶

¹ Apparently he is here referring to the land cultivated at the Falls of River des Etchemins, i.e., on the present site of Calais or St. Stephen, as mentioned by Champlain (earlier, page 163), though he may refer to the land cultivated near the camping place just mentioned, in which case it would be the place at Johnsons Cove mentioned in Note 2 above.

² His visit to the Island two years later is described later in this paper, page 192.

³ Wrongly shown as connected with the main island on Champlain's map (Fig. 8); compare earlier, note 1, page 161.

⁴ Lescarbot seems to imply that the chapel was on the islet with the cannon, but Champlain's map (Fig. 8) shows that this was not the case, and probably Lescarbot means to say merely that it was at the same end of the island as the islet. Another possible but less likely explanation is that the chapel shown by Champlain on his map, was a more pretentious structure, used by the French, and that there was another, merely a wigwam for the Indians on the same islet with the cannon. It is furthermore possible that the building shown on the plan of the settlement (Fig. 9) as attached to the house of the priest was a chapel. In any case, there is surprisingly little reference to the chapel, or to any religious matters, in the narratives, a fact easily explained on reflection, since de Monts was a Protestant as were others of his company, and they were accompanied both by a priest and a Protestant minister. The silence of both Champlain and Lescarbot as to religious matters is due no doubt to the fact that Protestant influence was prominent in the settlement, and they were writing in and for a country overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Compare also the incident later, on page 191.

⁵ On the shell fish, see earlier, page 140. This selection of the largest, leaving the smallest to breed, here mentioned, represents the first attempts at mollusc culture in the New World, as pointed out in the Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. VIII., page 16.

⁶ Presumably the barque was hauled from the water for the winter, leaving them but the one small boat in which to bring wood and water from the mainland. This is implied in a statement in *Le Mercure François* (see earlier page 173).

. The Sieur de Poutrincourt had made the voyage there with some of his own men, not to winter there, but in order to select a residence and to explore out a pleasing place. This having been done, he had no need to remain longer. Hence the vessels being ready to return, he embarked on one of them with his retinue.

. the Sieur de Poutrincourt having left his arms and munitions of war on St. Croix Island in care of the sieur de Monts, as a pledge and guarantee of his good intention to return there.

CHAPTER VI.

Buildings on St. Croix Island. Discomforts of the French at this place. Unknown sickness.

During the voyage just described,¹ the Sieur de Monts had work done on his fort,² which he had placed at the end of the island at the end opposite to the place where we have mentioned he placed his cannon. This had been prudently considered in order to command all the river above and below. But it was a fault that the fort was on the north side and without any shelter except for the trees which were on the bank of the island all around which he had forbidden to be cut down. And outside of the fort was the lodging of the Swiss,³ large and spacious, and other small buildings like a fauxbourg [or suburb].⁴ Some housed themselves on the main land near the brook. But inside the fort was the residence of the said Sieur de Monts, built with beautiful and artistic woodwork,⁵ with the banner of France above. In another place was the storehouse, in which was the health and life of everybody, built also of good woodwork, and covered with shingles. Opposite the storehouse were the dwellings of the Sieurs d'Orville, Champlain, Champdoré⁶ and other notable persons. Opposite the residence of the Sieur de Monts was a covered gallery for exercise play or work in time of rain. And between the said fort and the platform where were the cannon, all the space was occu-

¹ That made by Champlain to the Kennebec (page 166).

² Champlain does not in his narrative speak of this place as a fort, but his plan and the description here given by Lescarbot show that a part of the settlement was included within a palisade, to which, no doubt, it was intended the settlers could retreat from an enemy as to a citadel, abandoning the remainder of the buildings. As the Indians were the only foe to be considered, however, a palisade between the buildings was sufficient. This fort included apparently the dwelling of Sieur de Monts, the storehouse and the general assembly house, between which buildings was a palisade (see the plan, Fig. 9, and also 14).

³ Apparently Swiss workmen, possibly also soldiers.

⁴ A suburb, i.e., like the more open places with separated residences and gardens on the outskirts of a city.

⁵ Of course brought from France, as was probably in part at least the storehouse. The other buildings were probably simply log huts, while those of the men appear to have been little better than Indian wigwams. Champlain's picture-plan of the settlement (Fig. 9) is obviously a good deal idealized.

⁶ Not quite correct; compare Champlain's plan (Fig. 9).

plied by gardens in which each one exercised himself with a happy heart. Thus the autumn passed; and it was well for them to have lodged themselves, and to have cleared the island before the winter: whilst in these parts pamphlets¹ were circulated under the name of Maitre Guillaume (Master William), stuffed with all kinds of news,² by the which, amongst other things, this prophet said that S.eur de Monts did pull out thorns in Canada.³ And when all is said it is very truly pulling out thorns in taking in hand such enterprises full of continual perils and fatigues, of cares, anguish and discomforts. But the virtue and the courage which subdues everything makes these thorns but carnations and roses to those who are determined on heroic actions to commend themselves to the memory of men, and close their eyes to the pleasures of those effeminates who are good only to guard the chamber.

The most needful things having been done, the hoary father, that is to say, the winter, being come, made it necessary to keep to the house and each to live at his own home. During this time our people suffered three principal discomforts on the island, namely, lack of wood (for that which was on the island had been used for the buildings), want of fresh water, and the watching which was done at night through fear of some surprise by the Indians who were encamped at the foot of the island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such that it is necessary to guard against them more than against infidels. This is something I say with regret, but I lied in this regard and that I had no cause to speak it.⁴ Now, when it was necessary to have fresh water or wood one had to pass the river which is, more than thrice as large as the Seine on each side. It is a painful and tedious business. So that it was needful to keep the boat very often a whole day before obtaining the things needed.⁵ Then the cold and snow arrived, and the freezing was so strong that the cider was frozen in the barrels, and it was necessary to portion out the share of each one by weight. As for the wine, it was only served out on certain days of the week. Many lazy fellows drank snow water without taking the trouble to cross the river.⁶ In brief here came a certain unknown sickness like to those which Captain Jacques Cartier has described to us earlier, which for

¹ Levrets, that is, livrets.

² This passage seems to show that the young gentlemen amused themselves in winter, as the men of arctic expeditions do to this day, by issuing the equivalent of a newspaper, probably not printed but written out by hand. What would not we collectors of local literature be tempted to give for a complete set of the *Master William*, issued on Dochet Island in the winter of 1604-1606!

³ An equivalent for our "draw the teeth," viz., to subdue?

⁴ It is possible that Lescarbot here refers only to a possible attack by the English or some other Christian enemy, but his language seems rather to refer to some treachery or mutiny within the party itself, though there is no other evidence of such a thing. After all, though we know the main facts about the settlement, we know little of the life of those seventy-seven men during that winter on the island.

⁵ He must refer to a time when most of the men were incapacitated, and the few who could do the work needed rest between their toilsome voyages.

⁶ Showing bad discipline, and also implying a lack of concerted action in obtaining water. It is quite probable that with a rigid discipline and com-

this reason I shall not describe again, to avoid a vain repetition. No remedy was found. Meanwhile the poor sick creatures languished, pining away little by little, having no dainties such as milk or soups to sustain a stomach which could not take solid food because of the growth of a hindrance of a rotten flesh which grew and over-abounded in the mouth, and when one thought to remove it, it grew in one night more abundantly than before. As to the tree Anneda¹ of which the said Cartier makes mention, the Indians in this region do not know it. It was indeed a great pity to see everybody in decline except a very few,² and to see the poor invalids dying as it were full of life without any possibility of help. Of this malady there died thirty-six, and another thirty-six or forty who were affected improved by the help of the spring as soon as it came. But the season of mortality in this disease began the last of January, the months of February and March, when ordinarily they died in the order each in his turn according to whether they commenced early to be taken; so that he who began to be ill in February and March could escape; but he who hastened too much and would take to his bed in December and January, he was in danger of dying in February, March, or the beginning of April, which time being passed he has a hope and even an assurance of safety.

The hard season being passed, the sieur de Monts, wearied of his sad stay on Isle St. Croix, considered hunting for another harbour in a warmer country farther to the southward. . . .

And so the Sieur de Monts decided to return to St. Croix,³ where he had left a goodly number of his men still weak from the effects of their winter's illness, for the safety of whom he was anxious. . . .

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of the Sieur de Pont at Isle St. Croix. The Settlement removed to Port Royal

The spring being passed in the voyage to the Armouchiquois,⁴ the sieur de Monts awaited at St. Croix the time he had decided in which if there was no news from France he would set out to find some vessel of those which come to Newfoundland for the fishery, in order to return in it to France with his party if it were possible. This time had expired, and they were ready to set sail, not expecting any aid or assistance, when the Sieur de Pont, surnamed Gravé, resident of Honfleur, arrived with a company of some forty men, to relieve the suspense of sieur de Monts and his party. This was to the great satisfaction of everyone, as can readily be believed, and cannonading was not wanting according to custom, nor the blaring of trumpets. The said pulsory exercise, etc., the horrors of the scurvy would have been much lessened, but it must be remembered that the subject was very little understood at that time.

¹ This tree, so called by the Indians at Quebec in 1535-1536, appeared to heal Cartier's party of the scurvy. Its identity is unknown, but it is generally supposed to have been some evergreen.

² On the identity of these few see earlier, note 3, page 170.

³ After his voyage to Cape Cod, described in Lescarbot's work.

⁴ Indians of Massachusetts.

sieur de Pont not knowing the state of our French men thought to find there a settlement quite assured, with buildings ready; but because of the accidents of the strange malady of which we have spoken it was decided to change the location. The Sieur de Monts had strongly desired that the new settlement should be in forty degrees,¹ that is to say six degrees nearer the Equator than the situation of St. Croix; but after having seen the coast as far as Malebarre,² and with much care, without finding what he wanted, it was deliberated whether to go to Port Royal to make the settlement, awaiting the means to make a more ample exploration. Thus each one busied himself to pack up his baggage. They demolished that which they had built with a thousand labours, except the store-house, which was a piece too large to transport,³ and in accomplishing this several voyages were made. All having arrived at Port Royal

Such are the original narratives of the first settlement on St. Croix Island. They include the only extant original sources of information upon the subject, and all later writers have derived their facts from these alone. Since no one of the three is complete, but each supplies something lacking in the others, it will be useful to bring together here in synopsis the chief events of the settlement, forming a sort of composite of the narratives.

On June 26 or 27, 1604, Sieur de Monts, accompanied by Sieur de Champlain and a few men in a small barque, entered Passamaquoddy Bay in search of a site for a permanent settlement. The party, or more probably the Sieur de Champlain exploring in advance of the main party in a small boat, discovered the island which de Monts named Sainte Croix, following a suggestion given him by the curious cross-formed meeting of the waters above it. Finding the situation charming, and all the physical features of the island favourable for settlement and defence against the Indians, and the season growing late, they determined to establish themselves there. They at once fortified a knoll or nubble at the south end of the island as a temporary protection, while the barque was sent to the Bay of St. Mary in Nova Scotia to bring up the vessel and the remainder of the party. On the arrival of the latter, work was vigorously commenced upon clearing the island, erecting buildings, and making gar-

¹ His charter gave him rights of settlement as far south as 40°, viz., to the vicinity of the present City of Philadelphia. It is very surprising that he did not find, in his search along the coast as far as Marthas Vineyard, any place which seemed to him as favourable for settlement as Port Royal. The history of New England would have been somewhat different for a time had he found a site on Massachusetts Bay, or had he directed his voyage in 1604 to latitude 40° instead of to Canso.

² Cape Cod.

³ Apparently all the good woodwork, especially that brought from France, excepting that of the Magazine, was transported to Port Royal, while the rougher log buildings were left behind.

dens. The plan of the settlement was prepared by Champlain, and is fully shown on a map and a picture-plan drawn by him (Figs. 8 and 9). It stood on the nearly level, elevated north end of the island in a situation easy to recognize, though every trace of the settlement has vanished. The principal buildings were the residence of the commander, and a strongly built storehouse, the materials for both of which had doubtless been chiefly, if not entirely, brought from France. These two, together with a third building serving as a general assembly house (and perhaps, too, as the general mess-room), were connected with one another by palisades, the whole forming an efficient fort, ample for protection against the Indians. Cannon were mounted also north of the settlement, on the knoll at the foot of the island, and on the bluff on the south east of the island. Near by were constructed other buildings,—barracks for the Swiss mercenaries, dwellings for the gentlemen and for the workmen, all of whom segregated into groups according to their rank and tastes. An oven house and a kitchen were built, and a well was dug though it proved of slight service; and a water-mill for grinding grain was started, but not completed, on the mainland. The chapel was, seemingly, attached to the house of the priest, and another, little more than a large wigwam, was built near the foot of the island, probably for the use of the Indians, some of whom encamped there. All of the buildings, except the first mentioned, were doubtless built of logs, but with doors, windows and chimneys brought from France, and it is likely that they were badly built, as the carpenters must have been new to this kind of construction. Gardens were laid out both among the dwellings, and on the level ground southward of the settlement (Fig. 14), and also on the mainland of both banks of the river and at the falls near the present Calais and St. Stephen, and many grains and other seeds were planted. In the autumn some of the party returned in the vessels to France, leaving de Monts and some 76 men on the island. The winter set in very early and proved exceptionally severe. The cold north winds swept down the river, little broken in force by the thin fringe of trees left around the island, and penetrated the badly constructed dwellings, imperfectly heated by their charcoal fires, or by their ravenous fireplaces for which little wood could be got. Great quantities of ice formed in the river, so that it became very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to fetch wood and water in their small boat from the mainland, and for the same reason little fish or other fresh food could be obtained. The men, weakened by the cold, by labour on the hand mills and by watching against possible treachery from the Indians, and, perhaps, from some among their own number, with blood impoverished by the salt food, bad water and little exercise,

fell sick with the scurvy. This soon got so far beyond the skill and control of the surgeons, that nearly half of the men died, and most of the remainder, all except a dozen of the most active persons, (probably the gentlemen of the party who kept up health by active games, and spirits by writing amusing pamphlets), were in various stages of illness. The care of the sick wore upon the well, and it was only the return of spring which saved them from a like illness and allowed the sick to recover. So great were their sufferings that all became utterly discontented with the place of settlement, and when the relief ship arrived in the middle of June, she was hailed with the greatest manifestations of joy, and it was resolved to abandon the place. The settlement was then removed to Port Royal in Nova Scotia.

Before passing to the later history of the island, there are three subjects connected with the first settlement worth a brief discussion,—the exact date of the discovery of the island, the Indian traditions as to the settlement, and a current misconception as to certain early religious services on the island.

The date of the discovery of St. Croix Island is, unfortunately, nowhere stated, nor is there any conclusive incidental evidence in the narratives bearing on the subject. De Monts with his party left St. Mary's Bay on the 16th of June, and eight days later, on June 24th, after exploring around the head of the Bay of Fundy, discovered the St. John. They appear not to have remained long, and probably left on the 25th. Allowing for their slow progress in a small open barque, entering every harbour and promising place for a settlement, they could hardly have reached St. Croix Island in less than two days, that is, June 26th or 27th. This is confirmed by certain other facts from the narratives. Putting together the narratives of Champlain and Lescarbot, we find that a barricade was immediately made on Isle St. Croix, after its discovery, and as soon as it was finished, a messenger, Champdoré, was sent in the barque to St. Mary's Bay to bring up the vessels with the rest of the party. On reaching St. Mary's Bay they discovered Nicolas Aubry, who had been lost in the woods for 16 or 17 days. Now, he had been lost four days before June 16, that is June 12; hence he must have been found on June 28 or 29. Now, as it must have taken Champdoré a day to cross to St. Mary's Bay, and the party a day to erect the barricade, the island must have been discovered at least two days before June 28 or 29, that is, on June 26 or 27. We may imagine they left the St. John on the 25th, reached St. Croix Island on the evening of the 26th, spent the 27th in erecting the barricade, and sent Champdoré to St. Mary's Bay on the 28th, on which day or the next he discovered Aubry. We may thus best

accept June 26 as the most probable date, with the 27th as a possible alternative.

It will be of interest to inquire what traditions the Indians of the region have as to the settlement, for not only will these be of some interest in themselves, but, with our full knowledge of the real discovery, they will afford a test of the accuracy of Indian tradition. I have not made any attempt to obtain traditions which may still exist among the Passamaquoddies, (not having thought of it when I had the opportunity), but some information on the subject exists. Thus, in 1796-1797, the testimony of certain Passamaquoddy Indians was taken for the use of the Boundary Commission, later to be explained, and this testimony still exists in MSS. among the Commission's records, a set of which I have been privileged, through the generosity of their present owner, Rev. Dr. Raymond, of St. John, to use. One of the traditions, thus given by Francis Joseph, is as follows:—

That the French about four hundred years ago came to this part of the Country with one vessel. That they first came to Head Harbour and Harbour Le Tang; and from thence went up the River Magaquadavic in a Boat, where they saw some Indians—That not liking the Land they came down the river, and erected a Cross at its mouth; and then returned to France. That the next time the French came here in four Vessels and set down at an Island near Devils head, where a Malady assailed them by drinking bad water; of which a great number died and the rest returned to France.

Another Indian, Nicola Awawas, testified:—

that there was a fort on the great island—that he understood the French first landed at—Megagwadavy and that they came to St. Andrew's Point and then they went to Muttanagwamis [Dochet], that the first time the French came there were two vessels and one remained here, and when they came again they found that all the men who remained had died and the vessel which came the second time finding that all the men who had remained were dead went away.

Again, a document, giving a summary of these traditions as obtained from several Indians in 1796, is printed by Kilby in his "Eastport and Passamaquoddy" (page 114), from which the following sentences are taken:—

That two or three hundred years ago the French came in three or four ships to Passamaquoddy Bay, entered at the L'Etete Passage and erected a cross at the entrance of the Magaquadavic River, upon Point Meagique, that they soon after removed and erected a cross upon St. Andrews Point, on St. Andrews day celebrated Mass there and gave it the name of St. Andrews; that at the time the Indians were clothed in skins, which the French purchased of them, and gave them in return knives, hatchets, and ruffled shirts, that the French at their request set blacksmiths to work on board the ships, and furnished them with such iron instruments as they described their want

of; that the French remained long enough to load the ships with furs and then returned to France. That the next year they came again with four ships and went to the small island at the mouth of the Scoudiac River; that this island was the place of resort for the Indians to deposit their articles both in going up and coming down the Scoudiac River, and has a name describing that as its use; that the French landed there and remained some months, but finding that the water upon the island was not good, and had a poisonous quality, and that a mortality as they supposed from that cause prevailed among them, they went away; that at this time they did not traffic; that all the adjacent country was full of Indians; that the French came to this small island because they could there defend themselves; that they did not go to any other island or remain on shore at any other place, from their fear of the Indians, who were not willing that they should land upon the main, or any large island, lest they should claim a right of possession. That this island was larger than it now is, and that the sea has washed it away from the rocks on the lower side. That the small hill or island towards the sea had always remained distinct by itself, and the water on the inside and near to it is very deep.

In further conversation they said that after erecting the cross at the Magaguadavic, the French Priest went up to the forks of that river, and there put some earth in his handkerchief, and said "this is the place."

Another tradition of about the same time (given in the "Courier Series," No. XXIV.) states that the Indians used to lie in wait for the French as they landed from the island.

These testimonies, in comparison with the known facts, do not allow us to entertain a very high regard for the accuracy of Indian tradition. But it must be conceded that there is in them a certain substratum of truth, and that probably they are less accurate than they would be were it not for a confusion of several voyages in the minds of the Indians. It is possible, for instance, that the visits of other early French traders who entered this bay are here confused with those of de Monts, and it is probable that the tradition about the naming of St. Andrews¹ may be substantially correct, though belonging to a much later period.

We may next consider an erroneous supposition originated by Willis in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XV., 1861, 212, 213, that Protestant religious services, the first held in North America north of Florida, were held on the island in 1604-1605. The evidence is based upon a combination of two passages in Lescarbot's History. One, (page 461 of the 1612 edition), beginning "*Je demanderois*" (given earlier, page 174), Willis interprets as a protest by Lescarbot against the settlement, whence he infers that Lescarbot was at the island in 1604. But this is simply a mistranslation of *demanderois*, which means simply "I would ask,"

¹ Discussed in *Acadiensis*, II., 184.

etc., and introduces a question, while the evidence is perfectly conclusive that Lescarbot was not in Acadia until two years later. Second, Willis interprets a passage, on page 490 of the 1612 edition, in which Lescarbot says he gave religious instruction to the people at the request of Poutrincourt, as referring to St. Croix Island. But this, as the context shows, although coming in a chapter describing events at St. Croix Island, occurs in a digression relating to his own student habits, and refers to Port Royal, and not to St. Croix Island.

In this connection we may note an interesting incident which may have happened at Isle St. Croix. As Champlain tells us in the edition of his works of 1632, the party with de Monts included both Protestants and Roman Catholics, and had with it both priests and ministers. Now, Sagard, in his *Histoire du Canada*, of 1636 (page 9), speaking of the unfortunate effects of religious disputes upon the men when Catholic priests and Protestant ministers were allowed to go together upon expeditions to the New World, says:—

En ces commencemens que les François furent vers l'Acadie; il arriva qu'un Prestre & un Ministre moururent presque en mesme temps, les matelots qui les enterrent, les mirent tous deux dans une mesme fosse, pour veoir si morts ils demeureroient en paix, puisque viuants ils ne s'estoient pu accorder.

TRANSLATION.

In the first ventures made by the French in Acadia, it happened that a priest and a minister, having died at almost the same time, the sailors who buried them, placed them together in a single grave to see whether when dead they would remain together in peace, since living they were never able to agree.

It is not, of course, certain that this incident occurred at St. Croix Island, but the indications point to the island as its location.

So much for the history of the island down to the removal of the settlement to Port Royal. Only once more does Champlain have any connection with it. He visited it along with Poutrincourt on September 7, 1606, which visit he describes as follows:—

CHAPITRE XIII.

[113] Le lendemain fusmes dedans vne chaloupe à l'isle de S. Croix, où le sieur de Mons auoit yuerné, voir si nous trouuerions quelques espics du bled, & autres graines qu'il y auoit fait semer. Nous trouuâmes du bled qui estoit ton en terre, & estoit venu aussi beau qu'on eut acceu desirer, & quantité d'herbes potageres qui estoient venues belles & grandes: cela nous resioit infiniment, pour voir que la terre y estoit bonne & fertile.

TRANSLATION.

. . . . The next day we proceeded in a shallop to the Island of St. Croix, where Sieur de Monts had wintered, to see if we could find any spikes of wheat and other seeds which we had planted there. We found some wheat which had fallen on the ground, and come up as finely as one could wish; also a large number of garden vegetables, which also had come up fair and large. It gave us great satisfaction to see that the soil there was fair and fertile.

This was Champlain's last visit to the island. In September, 1607, he returned to France, and later became the Father of New France, but he came no more to Acadia.

Lescarbot mentions this visit in the following words:—

CHAP. XIII. [*i.e.*, XIII.]

[553] sieur de Poutrincourt visita ladite ile, là où il trouva du blé mur de celui que deux ans auparavant le sieur de Monts avoit semé, lequel estoit beau, gros, pesant, & bien nourri. . . .

CHAP. XV.

[557] Apres avoit à fait, vne revenû, & caressé les Sauvag. qui y estoient

TRANSLATION.

. . . . Sieur de Poutrincourt visited the said Island, where he found ripe wheat, of that which two years before the Sieur de Monts had sown, which was fine large heavy and well-filled out. . . . After having made there a review and having conciliated the Indians who were there

A year later, in July, 1607, Lescarbot himself in company with Poutrincourt, visited St. Croix Island, of which he speaks thus:—

[590] *Etat de l'ile Sainte-Croix.*

CHAP. XVIII.

[600] Arrivez que nous fumes dans ladite ile de Sainte Croix, nous y trouvames les batimens y laissez tout entiers, fors que le magazin estoit decouvert d'un côté. Nous y trouvames enco-[601]re du vin d'Hespagne au fond d'un mui, duquel nous beumes, & n'estoit guere gaté. Quant aux jardins nous y trouvames encore des choux, ozeilles & laitues, dont nous fimes cuisine. Nous y fimes aussi de bons patez de tourtres qui sont là frequentes dans les bois. Mais les herbes y sont si hautes, qu'on ne pouvoit les trouver quand elles estoient tuées & tombées à terre. La court y estoit pleine des tonneaux entiers, lesquels quelques matelotz mal disciplinez brulerent pour leur plaisir, dont l'eu horreur quand le le vi, & jugeay mieus que devant que les Sauvages estoient (du moins civilement) plus humains & plus gens bien que beaucoup de ceux qui portent le nom de Chrétien, ayant depuis trois ans pardonné à ce lieu, auxquels ilz n'avoient point seulement pris un morceau de bois, ni du sel qui y estoit en grande quantité dur comme roche.

TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER XVIII.

. *State of St. Croix Island.*

. Having arrived at the said St. Croix Island, we found there the buildings which had been left all entire, except the magazine which was uncovered on one side. We found there also in the bottom of a pipe Spanish wine of which we drank and it was of good flavor. As to the gardens, we found there also cabbages, sored and lettuce, which we cooked. We made there also good pies from the pigeons which are frequent there in the woods. But the grass there is so high that one cannot find them when they are killed and fall to the ground.¹ The courtyard there was full of whole barrels, which our badly disciplined sailors² burned for pleasure, which horrified me when I saw it and I saw better than before that the Indians were (at least in manners) more humanized and better people than many of those who bear the name of Christians, having for the years spared this place from which they had not taken a single morsel of wood, nor of salt which was there in a great quantity as hard as rock.

We have now to trace the history of the island for the remainder of the period, and brief enough it is. The records are to be found chiefly in the Relations of the Jesuit Missionaries, from which the following quotations are taken.

After 1607, no mention of the island occurs until 1610, in which year, as related by Lescarbot, Sieur de Poutrincourt in a voyage,

vindrent à Sainte Croix première habitation de nos François en cette côte, là où ledit Sieur fit faire des prières pour les trespassez qui y estoient enterres dès le premier voyage du sieur de Monts en l'an 1603.

TRANSLATION.

came to Saint Croix, the first settlement of our French upon this coast, where the Sieur had prayers offered for the dead who had been buried there since the first voyage made by Sieur de Monts, in the year 1603 [1604].

(*Relations II., 132-133.*)

Thus, touchingly and appropriately, with prayers for the repose of those who died in that first sorrowful winter, ends the connection of Poutrincourt, last of the comrades of de Monts in Acadia, with St. Croix Island.

¹ Human nature changes little with the progress of the Ages! Lescarbot is not the only hunter who has explained his return without game as due to his inability to recover that which he has killed!

² This confirms the supposition as to the bad state of discipline among the French sailors of the time, which must have made their management under such circumstances as prevailed at St. Croix Island in the winter of 1604-1605 very difficult.

The next year, 1611, came another incident in its history, when a trader, Captain Platrier, seated himself there, and passed the following winter upon it, as recorded in the Relations of Father Biard.

. . . nous apprîmes que le capitaine Platrier s'estoit resolu de passer l'Hyuer en l'Isle sainte Croix, & qu'il y estoit resté luy cinquieme. Cette nouvelle fit prendre resolution au sieur de Biencourt d'aller à Sainte Croix de ceste mesme tirade, auant que le Capitaine Platrier eust moyen de se fortifier; car il vouloit tirer de luy le Quint de toutes ses marchandises, & traicte, parce qu'il hyuernoit sur le pays. L'Isle Sainte Croix est à six lieues du Port aux Coquilles, au milieu d'une riviére.

Doncques le sieur de Biencourt y vint, accompagné de huit personnes, & y entra en armes, ayant laissé le P. Biard en un bout de l'Isle, sur des roches attendant l'evenement, parce que ledict Pere auoit conuenu avec ledict sieur, qu'en cas d'aucune invasion, ou actes de guerre, ou force contre les François, il seroit delassé en quelque lieu à l'escart, en telle façon, qu'un chacun peust sçavoir, qu'il estoit amy de tous les deux partys, & qu'il s'entremettrait fort volontiers pour accorder les differents, mais nullement pour estre partialiste.

Dieu mercy, tout passa heureusement: Platrier nous traicta le mieux qu'il peut: Et à son ayde le sieur de Biencourt recouura une barque. . . .

TRANSLATION.

. . . We learned that Captain Platrier had decided to pass the Winter on the Island of sainte Croix, and that he [Sieur de Biencourt] would get his fifth therefrom. This news made Sieur de Biencourt resolve to go to Sainte Croix at once, before Captain Platrier had means of fortifying himself: for he wished to collect from him the Fifth of all his merchandise and trade, for wintering in the country. The Island of Sainte Croix is six leagues from Port aux Coquilles,¹ in the middle of a river.

Accordingly sieur de Biencourt went to this place, accompanied by eight people, and, well-armed, marched into the place, having left Father Biard in one end of the Island upon the rocks, awaiting the outcome; because the Father had arranged with the sieur, that in case of any invasion, or warlike act or force against the French, he should be left in some place apart, so that every one might know that he was a friend of both parties, and that he would very willingly interpose to make peace between those at variance, but under no circumstances would he take sides with either.

Thank God, all passed off happily: Platrier treated us as well as he could: and with his aid, Sieur de Biencourt recovered a barque. . . .

(Relations III., 198-201.)

Biencourt was the son of Poutrincourt and at this time was in command in Acadia, and entitled to a fifth share of all trading profits.

Later in the same year, Father Biard with Sieur de Biencourt again visited St. Croix Island:—

nous repassâmes à l'Isle S. Croix, où Platrier nous donna deux barils de pois, ou de febues: l'un & l'autre nous fut un bien grand present.

¹ Head Harbour, on Campobello.

we passed on to the Island of Ste. Croix, where Platrier gave us two barrels of peas or beans; they both proved a very great boon to us.

(Relations, III., 224, 225.)

That Captain Platrier really spent the winter of 1611-1612 on St. Croix Island is attested by a statement in a letter of Father Biard (Relations, II., 26, 27). Whether he or anyone else wintered there in 1612-1613 we do not know, but in the next year, 1613, occurred the final event in the history of the settlements on St. Croix Island. In the summer of that year, Captain Biard was sent by the English of Virginia to drive the French from the Bay of Fundy. He captured Father Biard at Mount Desert and he allowed him to return to France, the good Father himself to tell his story to his Superior in France.

Hic quoque iterum nobis periculum. Vol-bant enim Angli ante dictum est, ad habitationem Sanctae Crucis, etiam in illis habitatores essent. Sed erat sal ibi relictum. Nemo praeterquam in eis erat atque ibi me aliquando fulsee Angli norant. Rogant autem. Ego qua possum tergiversari et evadere; sed nihil proficere. Me tunc aperte me nole. Hic nimirum incenditur capitaneus, et eram jam periculo pro, cum subito sine me ipsi locum reperiunt diripiunt et incendunt.

Here a new peril arose. The English, as I have previously stated, wished to go to the settlement of Sainte Croix, although it had at this time no inhabitants. Some salt, however, had been left there. No one except myself knew the way; and the English knew that I had been there formerly. They accordingly demand that I lead them. I do all I can to evade and refuse this proposal; but it avails me nothing. They perceive clearly that I am unwilling to obey. At this the captain grows very angry, and my peril becomes imminent; when suddenly they find the place, without my help, and plunder and burn it.

(Relations, III., 10, 11.)

In another place, his Relation of 1616, Father Bird gives another account of this event.

De saint Sauueur ils adresserent à S. Croix, ancienne habitation du sieur de Monts, & parce qu'ils auoyent sceu, que le P. Biard y auoit esté, Argal vouloit qu'il les y conduisit, mais ledit Pere ne le voulut point, ce qui le mit entierement en la disgrace dudit Argal, & en grand danger de sa vie. Ce neantmoins Argal roda tant en haut qu'en bas, & rechercha tant tous leurs endroits, les confrontans avec les cartes, qu'il nous auoit prinsees qu'en fin il la trouua de soy-mesme ; il en enleua vn bon monceau de sel, qu'il y trouua, brula l'habitation & destruisit toutes les marques du nom & droict de France, ainsi qu'il auoit en commandement.

From saint Sauveur they sailed for Ste. Croix, Sieur de Monts's old settlement; and, as they knew that Father Biard had been there, Argal wished

Sec. II., 1909. 13.

him to conduct them thither; but the father would not consent to do so. This caused him to be in complete disgrace with Argal, and in great danger of his life. Notwithstanding this, Argal wandered about, up and down, and, by dint of searching all places thoroughly and comparing them with the maps which he had taken from us, he at last found the place himself. He took away a good pile of salt, which he found there, burned the settlement, and destroyed all traces of the name and claims of France, as he had been commanded to do. (*Relations, IV., 36, 37.*)

But once more in this period does St. Croix Island make its appearance in the records of history. In 1632, Isaac de Razilly, following nearly in the footsteps of de Monts as a colonizer of Acadia, received a great grant from the King of France, described in the following terms:—

L'étendue des terres & pays que ensuivant, à sçavoir la rivière & baie Sainte-Croix, isles y contenues, & terres adjacentes d'une part & d'autre en la Nouvelle France, de l'étendue de douze lieues de larges, à prendre le point milieu en l'isle Sainte-Croix, ou le sieur de Mons à hiverné, & vingt lieues de profondeur depuis le port aux coquilles, qui est en l'une des isles de l'entrée de la rivière & baie Sainte-Croix, chaque lieues de quatre mille toises de long.

(" *Memoriale of the English and French Commissaries,*" Paris, 1755, page 707.)

TRANSLATION.

The extent of land and territory following, that is to say, the river and bay of Saint Croix, the islands contained therein, and the adjacent country on both sides in New France, in the extent of twelve leagues in breadth, with its middle point in St. Croix Island, where the Sieur de Monts wintered, and twenty leagues of depth from the Port Aux Coquilles [Head Harbour], which is in one of the islands at the entrance of the river and bay of St. Croix, each league of four thousand fathoms in length.

It is easy enough to lay down this grant upon a modern map, and the curious reader may find it thus shown with other early French grants upon a map in an earlier volume of these Transactions.¹ But de Razilly died before he could carry out his plan for colonization, and his grant lapsed. There is not the slightest evidence that he ever even saw Isle St. Croix, much less attempted to settle upon it.

Thus ended the history of Isle Sainte Croix in the Acadian period. Acadian settlers in small numbers lived in the vicinity towards the close of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century, but none of them are known to have occupied the island. Nor in any other way, in document, or on map, does it make any appearance during the remainder of the long Acadian period, which ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and the cession of all Acadia to England.

¹ Vol. V., 1899, section II., page 212.

2. THE PART OF ST. CROIX ISLAND IN THE BOUNDARY CONTROVERSIES,
AND IN THE DETERMINATION OF THE RIVER ST. CROIX AS THE
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY, 1796-1799.

So Isle St. Croix vanished from original historical records in 1632. It does not again come into notice in any way whatsoever that I can find until 1772, one hundred and forty years later, when it appears, named Bone Island, upon Wright's fine map of the Passamaquoddy Region, a map based upon the first accurate surveys of this part of the world. Wright's map has not been published, but exists in manuscript in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office

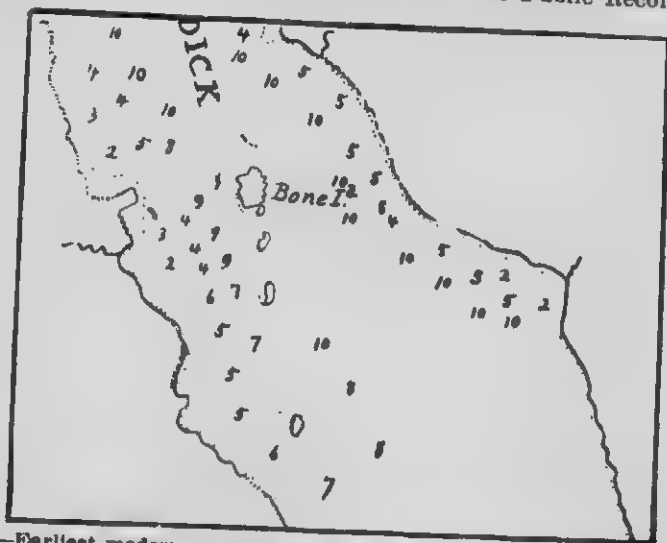


FIG. 10.—Earliest modern map to show the Island. From Wright's Ms. "Plan of the Coast from the West Passage of Passamaquoddy Bay to the River St. John," 1772. Original size.

at London, and, from a copy of the former, Bone Island and its surroundings are here reproduced (Fig. 10), giving us the earliest modern map of the island. As to the name assigned to it, Wright obtained it from some of the several settlers then living at Passamaquoddy, for in certain testimony given by him before the Boundary Commission in 1797 (preserved in Ms. among the records of the Commission), he testifies that the names on his map were not given by him, but were "obtained from the Inhabitants of the District." A probable reason for the origin of the name has been given earlier in this paper (page 169). But with this map the island again vanishes, not to reappear, so far as I can find, until 1796, when it becomes prominent in certain

documents of the Boundary Commission,— but thereby hangs an historical tale, which must be briefly related

The Treaty of Paris in 1783, which formally closed the unhappy war of the Revolution, established the St. Croix river from its source to its mouth as a part of the International Boundary between the United States and the British Possessions. This was the natural international boundary in this region, for it was the old boundary between Massachusetts, then including Maine, which had led the Revolution, and Nova Scotia, then including New Brunswick, which had remained loyal to Great Britain. The Treaty was not a year old, however, before disputes arose locally as to the identity of the River St. Croix of the Treaty, the British residents claiming the present river of that name, and the American residents claiming the Magaguadavic. It seems strange to us, with our accurate modern historical and geographical knowledge, that there could have been any doubt upon the subject, but if we view it in the light of the imperfect knowledge of that time, the origin of the controversy becomes clear. All that was definitely known about the River St. Croix was that it was one of the rivers emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay which had been named by the French when they settled there. But all tradition of de Monts' settlement had long since vanished, and there was nothing known to the residents to enable them to determine which of the several rivers emptying into Passamaquoddy was the true St. Croix, or even how the identity of the river was determined. The earlier attempts which had been made to identify the river when it was the boundary between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia only confused the issue, and the best maps of the time threw no light upon it. Thus, in 1764, when John Mitchel was sent by the Governor of Massachusetts to identify the River St. Croix, he was told by the Indians that the Magaguadavic was the river so called by them. This testimony of the Indians was valueless, for we now know that the St. Croix was not the Magaguadavic, and, moreover, the Indians the very next year, 1765, told Morris, a Nova Scotia surveyor, that the Cobacook was known to them as the St. Croix.¹ Nevertheless, their statement to Mitchel, apparently confirmed as it was by the maps of the time, naturally enough, led the people of Massachusetts, and, after 1783, the people of the United States, to believe that the Magaguadavic was the St. Croix, and hence, should form the International Boundary. The best maps of that time gave a certain support to this view, for they showed two large rivers emptying into what was supposed to

¹ This subject is treated fully in the writer's "Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick," in the preceding volume of these Transactions.

represent Passamaquoddy Bay, and of these two the easternmost was named the St. Croix. We now know that the maps contained a very curious error in the supposed Passamaquoddy Bay which made them utterly misleading, and we now know further that the river named on them the St. Croix is really the present river of that name; but these facts were then unknown, and the supposition that the Magaguadavic was the St. Croix was most natural under the circumstances. The British claimed the present St. Croix as the St. Croix of the Treaty, chiefly on the ground that it was the larger river and the most natural to be selected as the international boundary, but they had no positive historical evidence to offer in its support, and so far their case was weaker than that of the Americans. Such was the condition of affairs during the decade after the close of the revolution, and much local friction and no little embarrassment to the two governments was caused by the uncertainty as to this boundary. Finally, the question became so pressing that in 1794 the United States and Great Britain entered into a Treaty, providing for leaving the question as to the identity of the River St. Croix meant by the Treaty of 1783, to a commission of three men, one to be appointed by each nation, and these two to choose a third, the decision of any two of them to be accepted as final. Accordingly, Great Britain chose Thomas Barclay, a prominent loyalist of Nova Scotia, and the United States chose David Howell, an eminent citizen of Rhode Island, and those two agreed upon Egbert Benson, a leading lawyer of New York, as the third commissioner. The British agent, to argue the British claim, was Ward Chipman, a leading loyalist of St. John, while the American agent was James Sullivan, one of the most eminent lawyers of his time in Massachusetts. The secretary of the commission was Edward Winslow, another New Brunswick loyalist. The commission assembled at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in August, 1796, transacted much routine business in connection with its organization and the making of surveys, and gathered all the local information it could from residents and Indians. The members personally visited the Magaguadavic and the Scoodic (or present St. Croix), examined the various islands in them, and then adjourned to meet the next year in Boston. It was, of course, known to the commissioners from the start that the St. Croix river was named by de Monts, and that he had settled on an island within its mouth, but on their visits to the various islands they did not have with them Champlain's original narratives and maps, but only some extracts from his narratives, quite insufficient of themselves to determine the identity of the island and river. The American agent endeavoured to convince the commissioners that an island, now called Hog Island, near the

mouth of the Digdeguash, was the island described by Champlain, thus seeking to sustain his contention that the Magaguadavic was the St. Croix. The British agent appears to have hit upon the correct island, namely, Dochet, as Isle St. Croix, but apparently the commissioners were then unconvinced by either. When the commission met in Boston in August, 1797, very lengthy arguments were submitted by the agents of the two countries. The British agent traced the history of the River St. Croix of the Treaty, and argued that it was the same as the River St. Croix of all the earlier charters, etc., and the same as the St. Croix in which de Monts had wintered in 1604, and he claimed that the Scodiac (the present St. Croix) was that river. The American agent, on the other hand, claimed that the River St. Croix of the Treaty of 1783 was not that of the ancient charters, but the river locally so called, and so represented upon the maps of the time, especially on Mitchell's map of 1755 which was admitted to have been used by the negotiators of the treaty in their deliberations, regardless of whether this was the ancient St. Croix of de Monts and Champlain or not. The former St. Croix he claimed to be the Magaguadavic. The commissioners, as their decision shows, unanimously decided that the contention of the British agent was correct, a decision which is fully in accord with the evidence and, indeed, the only one possible in the light of a full knowledge of the subject. The question then resolved itself into this, which of the rivers was the St. Croix of de Monts and Champlain? Happily this question was answered even before it was asked, and here St. Croix, or Dochet, Island steps once more upon the scene. In June or July, 1797, Mr. Chipman, the British agent, received from Europe a copy of Champlain's map of 1604 (fig. 8), which now became known to the members of the commission for the first time. He sent a copy of this map to Robert Pagan, a prominent citizen of St. Andrews, who, guided by the map, proceeded to Dochet Island; but we will let him tell his own story, in his own words. It is contained in a deposition laid before the commission, and preserved among their papers.

Robert Pagan Declares, that having obtained a Plan of St. Croix Island said to have been publish at Paris Anno 1613 and having compared it with the Shore Coves and Points of the Island laying a few miles below the mouth of Scodiac River at the Devils Head commonly called Doceas Island, and also with the shores &c of the main Land westward and Eastward of it, as laid down in that Plan, and having found a most striking agreement between every part of these shores, coves and points and that plan.

He on the 7th day of this Instant July went to said Doceas Island accompanied by William Cookson, Thomas Greenlaw, Nehemiah Gilman and John Rigby for the purpose of making further discoveries there. On the North End of said Doceas Island where in the plan above mentioned the French

buildings are laid down, he found four distant Piles of ruins agreeing in their situation and distances from each other with the spot at A, as laid down in that plan, and these four Piles of Ruins are directly abreast of the long sandy Point at low water in said Plan.

On examining these Piles he found them considerably raised above the general level of the Ground around them, some parts of them covered with roots of Trees and wind Falls, and all of them with mould or rotten leaves from six to eighteen inches deep.

On further examining he discovered distinctly several tiers of stone in each of the Piles laid in clay mortar, one on the Top of an other, the Clay is perfectly distinct from the stone, and of the usual thickness (between the Tiers of stone) of mortar made use of in laying Stone or Brick at this Day.

In some parts of these ruins the Clay is as soft and Perfect as if newly dug out of a Pit, and in other parts appears as clay does in chimnies where fire has been, and there are evident marks on the stone in many Places.

In digging he found charcoal in a perfect state only it was easily crumbled to pieces in handling he also found part of a stone Pitcher in full preservation. One one side of one of the Piles he discovered a number of Bricks, so laid together as to convince him that a large oven has formerly been built there, all these Bricks are in a tolerable state of preservation. He further declares—that on the 18th day of this Instant, July being at said Doceas Island on a party of pleasure with a large Company part of the Company went with him to view the ruins above described, and on further examination in presence of John Brewer Esqr., John Campbell, The Revd. Mr. Andrews, Daniel McMasters Esq., Donald McLauchlan, Donald Grant, William Pagan and Thomas Pagan. He uncovered another Pile of Ruins distinct from the four Piles found on the 7 Instant which they found to be laid in clay mortar with Tiers of Stone in the same manner as the first four Piles are laid.

In digging with a spade for a few minutes near one of these piles they turned up a metal spoon, a muskett Ball, a piece of an earthen Vessel and a spike Nail all of which shew evident marks of having laid a long time under the surface.

He further in presence of these Gentlemen discovered on that part of the Island agreeing with the spot in the plan between A & B a ledge of Rocks extending from the middle of the Island towards the shore on each side a considerable breadth in many places the Rocks are some height above the surface and in other places the Ledge is lightly covered with earth and leaves.

That this Declaration may be more fully understood he has annexed the plan referred to.

St. Andrews 20th July 1797.

(Signed), ROBERT PAGAN.

Personally appeared before me Daniel McMaster Esqr. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Charlotte Robert Pagan Esqr. also made oath to the truth of the Declaration contained in the first and second pages of Sheet of Paper subscribed by him.

(Signed), DANL MCMASTER, J.P.

(From the Boundary M.S. in possession of Rev. Dr. Raymond; given also by Kilby in his "Eastport and Passamaquoddy," pages 124, 125.)

There is a reference to this discovery in a letter by Barclay of Sept. 8, 1797, in Rives' "Life of Barclay."

But this is not the only testimony on the subject. Later in the same year Thomas Wright, Surveyor-General of Isle St. John (Prince Edward Island), the maker of the map of 1772, already referred to (earlier, page 197), visited Passamaquoddy on behalf of the Boundary Commissioners, and on October 24, 1797, gave sworn testimony as follows (Ms. hitherto unpublished among records of the Boundary Commission):

... Since being summoned to attend the Commissioners appointed as afore said, I have bestowed every attention towards informing myself on the Subject of their investigation: Have perused the several publications of voyages made by the French to Acadie; their Discoveries thereupon, and consequent Settlement made (by Monsrs. de Monts, Poutrincourt, Champlain, Lescarbot and others), on a small island which they named Isle de Sainte Croix, called on my said plan, Bone Island, situated in the midst of the River Scoodiac or Great River St. Croix.—I have also critically examined those French Settlers plan of the said Island; handed to me by Ward Chipman Esqr. His Britannic Majesty's Agent &c. Have compared it in every particular respecting the situation (as described by the said French Settlers) its measurement, shape, &c. with that of my said Survey made in 1772; and find such the said French Description and plan of the said Isle de Sainte Croix, so very nearly to correspond therewith as to leave me not the least room for doubt, that the said Isle de St. Croix or Bone Island was the Identical spot on which the said Frenchmen made their settlement sometime about or between the years 1604 and 1614.—there is no other situation to be found in the circuit if the whole Bay of Passamaquoddy to which such the said French Description of and plan would in the least apply to; so that taking the whole into consideration I have every reason most assuredly to believe that the said River Scoodiac is the true and antient named River St. Croix.

On the same date, Thomas Wright also swore to the following testimony, likewise now published for the first time from the Ms. in the records of the Boundary Commission. It will be noted that it is of very great local interest.

The Deposition of Thomas Wright, Esquire, His Majesty's Surveyor General of the Island of St. John in the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, respecting what he saw of Remains of Habitations on Isle de Saint Croix, or Bone Island &c. whilst on the Survey thereof October the eleventh and twelfth one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven—in company with Robert Pagan, Esquire, and a party of men assisting upon the said Survey &c.

Thomas Wright, Esquire, above named, upon his Oath doth testify and declare that—

1st. He examined the Foundation of a building (as the People cleared away the Trees, Rubbish, &c.) in Form of an oblong square, which he measured with a six Feet Rod; and found one Side twenty Feet long, laying in the Direction (by his pocket compass) of North North East and South South West—The other side at right angles to it (and facing nearly the North End of the Island) measured sixty-six Feet in Length, the remaining two Sides of

the oblong square measured the same.¹—At about twenty-four Feet from the Southern End of the said Foundation, towards the Middle of the area thereof, he observed a large Heap of Stones, with some Bricks of a light yellow colour which measured eight Inches long—four broad—and one Inch and four-tenths in Thickness; which Heap of Stones and Bricks—evidently appeared to have resulted from the tumbling down of a Stack of Chimnies²; and (upon removing the upper part of the Rubbish) was regularly bedded in a stiff light coloured clayey mortar; as in like manner, was the whole of the said Foundation.—Some of the Stones about this supposed Chimney-Heap appeared black, as if burnt on one Side:—There was, also, some Charcoal about the said Heap, that appeared in its usual Form; but easily crumbled, when squeezed between the Fingers, as rotten:—there was, also, (about the said Heap) some pieces of very hard burnt Earthen Ware.—And this Deponent further saith that he took some Bricks from under a Cedar and Fir Tree (whilst the people were grubbing and pulling them down) which trees measured from ten to twelve Inches through at their But:—there were, besides, Wind Falls of rotten Trees, over the said Foundation, about eighteen or twenty Inches in Diameter; and various Roots of Trees that had insinuated themselves between almost all the Stones of the said Foundation to the Earth, beneath.—

2nd. In the Direction of about South by West (by his pocket compass) from the above mentioned chimney pile, Distance from seventy to eighty Feet, he observed another like pile of Stones and Brick,³ to all appearance as the former, and bedded in like Manner with clayey mortar of same light or bluish colour—that had evidently the same appearance of a tumbled chimney—with Roots of Trees interwoven.—

3rd. That from this last mentioned pile of to appearance tumbled chimnies, in Direction (by his pocket compass) of about West by North, Distance seventy or eighty feet,⁴ he observed another pile of Stones; which, in every particular, resembled the former.—

4th. From this last mentioned pile, he found another Heap of Stones in the Direction (from the preceeding) of South by West, Distance about thirty or forty feet⁵; for the pile covered so much Space as to render it difficult to measure the exact Distance: This Heap of Stones, &c., resembled in every particular the former, as described and, like them, evidently appeared the Result of a tumbled chimney.

5th. Everywhere they dug about the Island, they found nought else but a sandy hungry soil, above and beneath for the Depth of from three to six Feet—then Rock.—

6th. He observed a remarkable Ridge of Rocks, somewhat to the Southward of the above mentioned Foundations, and running some distance athwart, or across the Island.—

7th. The Sea-Coast around the Island is very rocky—except at its South End (opposite a small Peninsula) where is a high sloping Sand Bluff, and

¹ Evidently the storehouse.

² De Monts's own house apparently. There is some difficulty in homologizing the distances and direction of the ruins given by Wright with the locations of the buildings on Champlain's plan (Fig. 9), but it is to be remembered that both are only approximate.

³ Apparently the house T of Champlain's plan (Fig. 9).

⁴ Apparently the house E of Champlain's plan.

⁵ Apparently the dwelling of Champlain, P on the plan.

some clay; in chaining from which, over a Shoal to the Ledges South thereof, he observed large Quantities of Muscles and some Clams—on a Bed of Sand—Clay—and Rocks.—

8th. In surveying around the Island, he did not observe the least Run, or any Springs, of fresh water; though the People with him made diligent Search for some to drink; but, they were obliged to send to the Main Land for some.

9th. In the Neighbourhood of the before mentioned Foundations and piles of (to Appearance tumbled chimnies, he observed several deep Holes that seemed to have been dug in Search of Water.

10th. And, further, this Deponent saith that, the Island is covered with Wood—some of considerable Size—The Species are chiefly of Fir—Spruce—some Pines—White Birch—Maple—Cedar and Beech—He saw but one Oak Tree;—that appeared to have been lately fallen with an axe, for some of its' Leaves were on the Branches:—It measured from eighteen to twenty Inches in Diameter, near the But.—

11th. And lastly, this Deponent saith that, a plan of the said Survey now in his hand intituled a plan of Isle de Sainte Croix, or Bone "Island situated in the Scodiac or Great River "Sainte Croix, in Passamaquoddy Bay"—is a true plan of a Survey of the said Island made by Him, the said Deponent, on the Twelfth Day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and Ninety-seven.—

St. Andrews Oct. 24th 1797.

THO. WRIGHT.

Surv. Genl.
of the Isl St. John.

St. Andrews, County of Charlotte,
Oct. 24th 1797.

Personally appeared the above named Thomas Wright, Esquire, and made Oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God to the Truths of the foregoing Deposition by him subscribed.—

Phineas Bruce, Esquire, was notified and present at the taking of this Deposition.—

Before us,

JNO. CURRY, J.P.

DANL. MCMASTER, J.P.

The map of Bone Island made by Thomas Wright is that herewith reproduced.¹ (figs. 11, 12.)

This testimony was transmitted to the commissioners, and accepted by them. Naturally the British agent rested his case with confidence upon it, while the American agent endeavoured to explain it away. The latter claimed that the ruins were not proven to be those of de Monts' settlement, but were much more likely those of

¹ Not hitherto published except in the author's work, "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick," in these Transactions, Vol. V., 1899, Sect. II., page 264. Two copies of the map are accessible, one in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, from which the present copy (Fig. 11) is taken, and another with the Benson MS. in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Other copies are in the MS. Records of the Boundary Commission.

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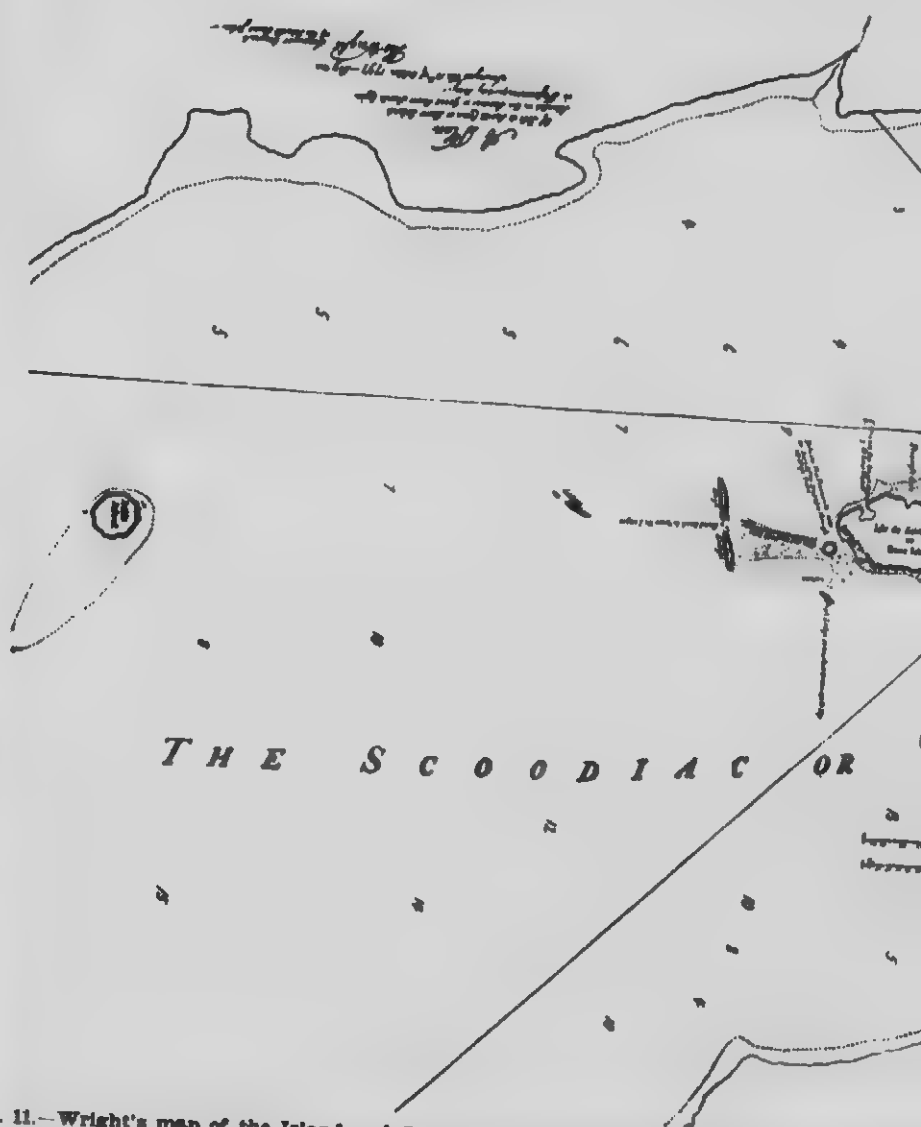
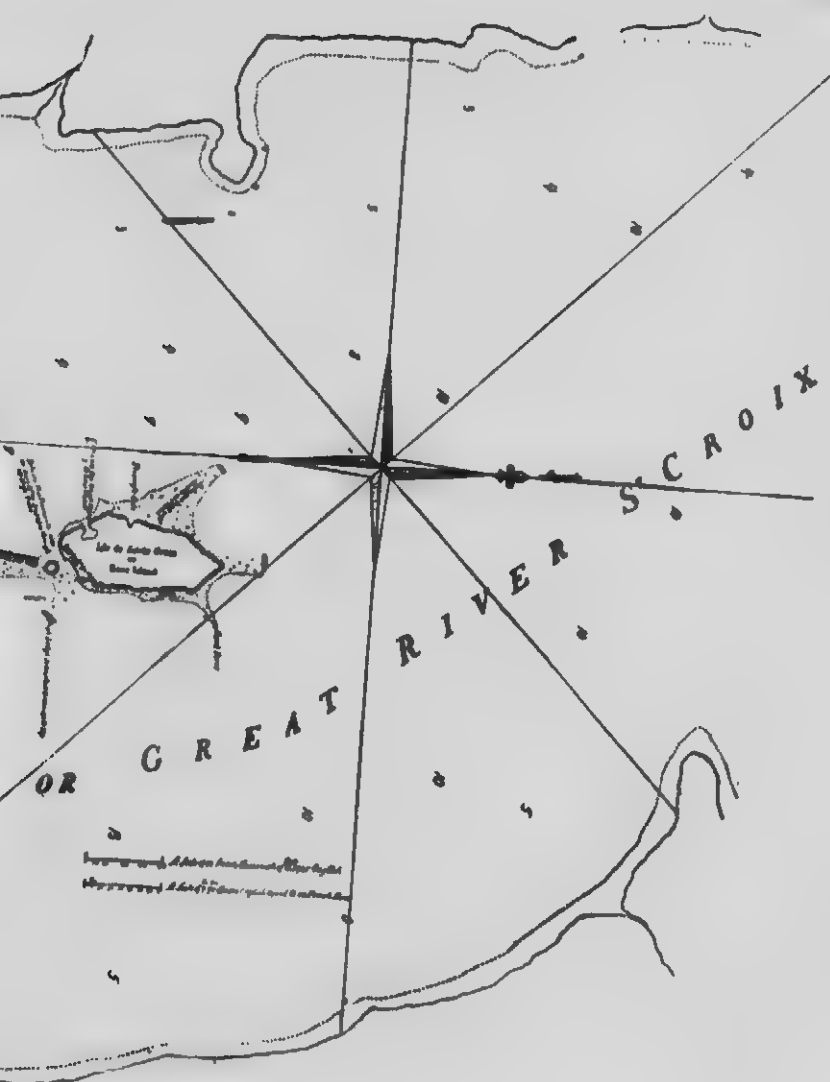
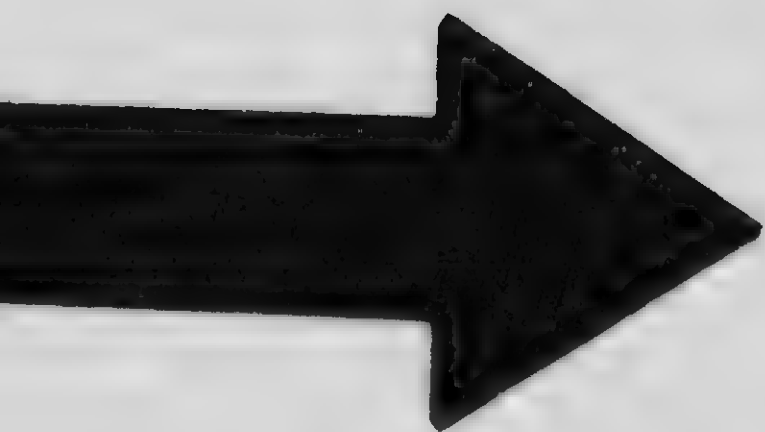


FIG. 11.—Wright's map of the Island and Surroundings, 1797. From the copy in the Crown size. (For the sake of clearness in the reduced copy, the shore lines have been made larger than in the original.)



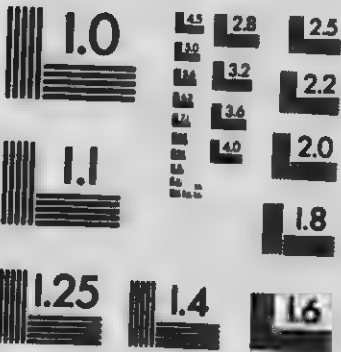
in the Crown Land Office, Fredericton, reduced to one-fourth the original have been made somewhat heavier, and the figures of soundings somewhat





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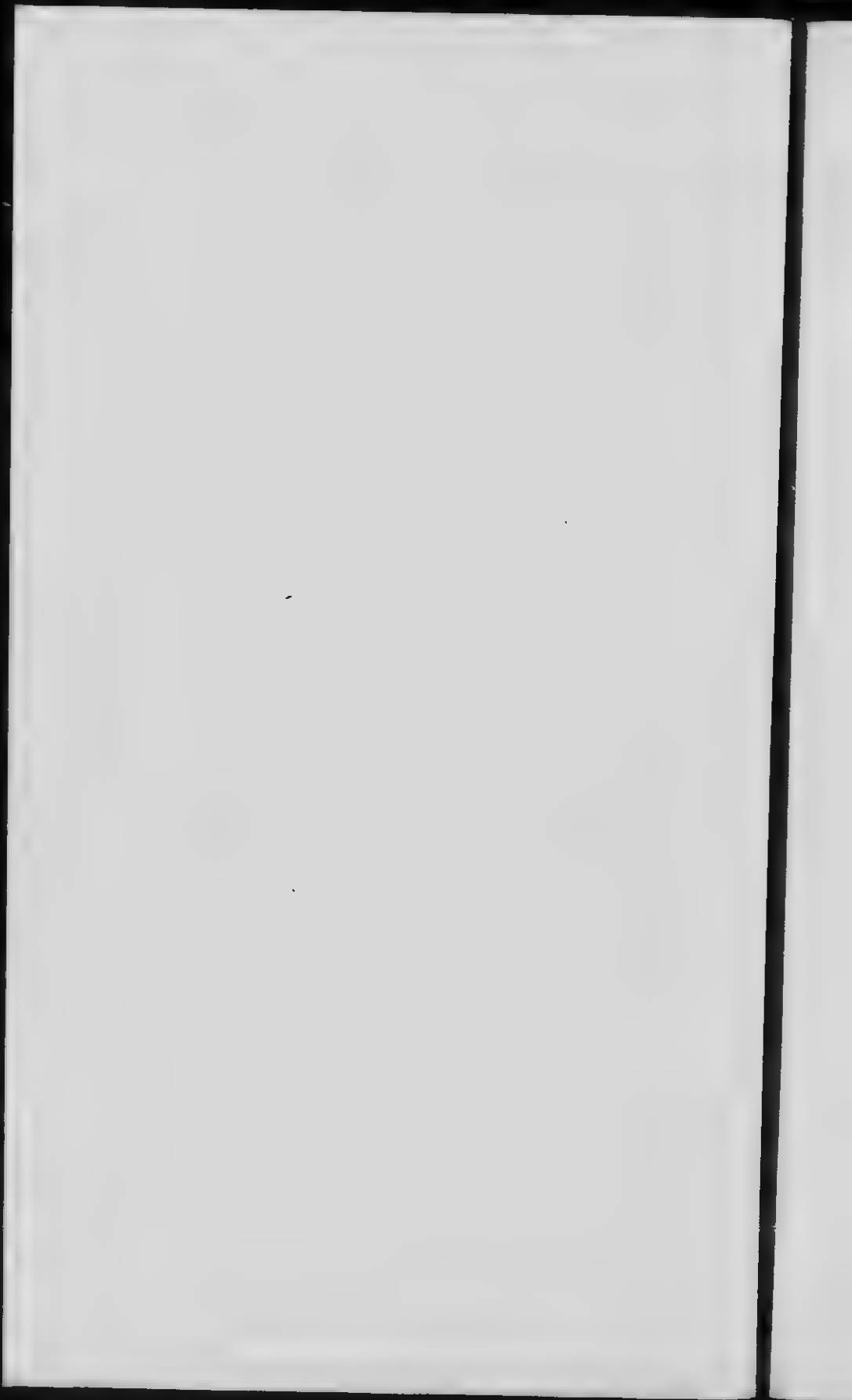
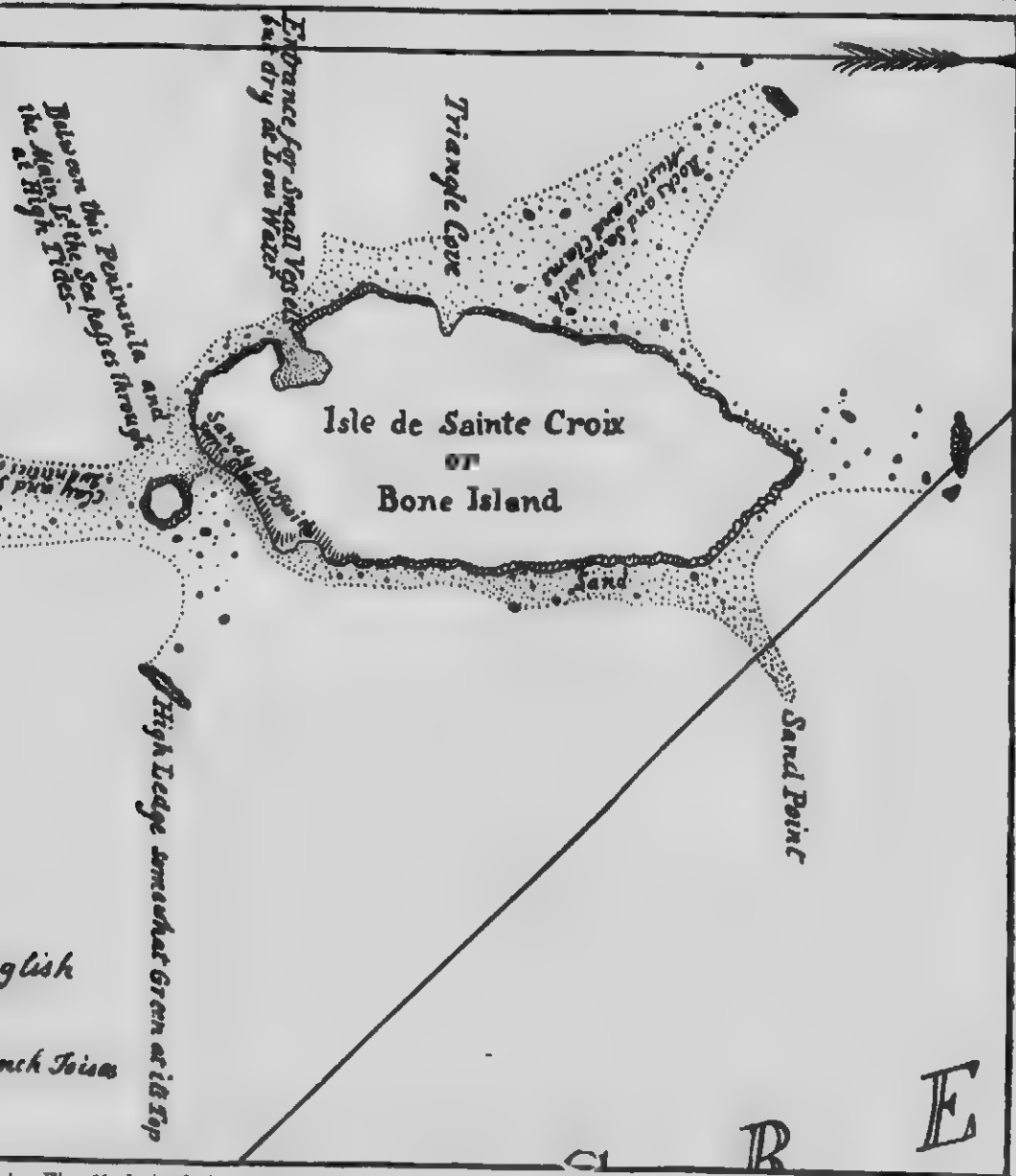






FIG. 12.—Wright's map of the Island, 1797. Portion of the map shown in Fig. 11, b lower position on Fig. 11 to the place here shown; otherwise the map is a fac-



in Fig. 11, but of the original size. (The scales have been brought from their
map is a fac-simile of the original.)

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some early trading post of Razilly or other early Seignior; and second, he maintained that in any case the subject was not important to the question at issue since it was not the St. Croix of de Monts and Champlain that was meant by the Treaty, but the St. Croix of the maps used by the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783, which St. Croix he held to be the Magaguadavic. The commissioners, however, unanimously agreed that the St. Croix of the Treaty could be traced back continuously to the St. Croix of de Monts and Champlain, and that the two were one and the same river. Hence Isle St. Croix proved the identity of the river.¹ Their opinion as to the value of the evidence contained in the above cited testimony can best be given in the words of the third commissioner, Egbert Benson, who, in a report² to the President of the United States, explaining the decision, says:—

Subsequent to the View of the mouths of the Rivers in question, and the adjacent Objects, by the Commissioners, at the instance of the Agents, in the Fall of 1796, the Edition of *Champlain*, of 1613, was procured from Europe, containing a Map of the Isle *Sainte Croix*, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, and a Search having then been made by digging into the Soil on the Island called *Bone*, or *Docias*, Island, Bricks, charcoal, spikes and other artificial articles have been found, and evident foundations of buildings have been traced. Whoever will compare these proofs with the Bay of Passamaquady, including the Islands and Rivers in it, will perceive that they result in demonstration that the Island St. Croix, and the River Saint Croix, meant by them, are respectively Bone Island, and the River Scudiac, comprehending in the latter the arm of the Bay, or as it is expressed by Lescarbot, *Sea*. . . .

Thus was the evidence as to the identity of the River St. Croix, based upon the discovery of the ruins of de Monts's settlement on St. Croix Island, together with the comparisons between the ancient and modern maps, accepted by the commissioners as final and unquestionable. On October 25, 1798, they rendered a unanimous decision in which they declared the Scoodic, or present St. Croix, to be the River St. Croix truly intended by the Treaty of 1783, and it thus became the International Boundary as we know it to-day.

Such was the part played by Docket Island in the Boundary controversy. It is too much to say that upon it alone depended the identification of the river and hence its selection as the boundary, for there was probably enough other evidence to have produced the same result. But, on the other hand, it is very probable, since one

¹ It is no wonder that Chipman in one of his letters (of Mar. 27, 1798) to Jonathan Odell (MS. in possession of the author) speaks affectionately of "My little Isle St. Croix." With its identity established he easily won his case: without it this would have been difficult enough.

² The Report is printed in full in Moore's "History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party," Vol. I., 33-43, and reference is there made (page 32) to other publications of it.

of the commissioners is known to have held at first strongly for the Magaguadavic, that without the evidence drawn from the island, the commissioners would have been divided in opinion instead of unanimous. In this case their decision would have been received with reserved acquiescence and some feeling of injustice, rather than with general approbation and satisfaction as it was. Dochet Island, therefore, has contributed somewhat to the peace between nations. It is only occasionally, and in the writings of the most partizan and uninformed writers, that we find the view still expressed that the Magaguadavic should have been the boundary. Happily, the sole remaining support for this view, namely, that the River St. Croix on Mitchell's map used by the negotiators of the Treaty was the Magaguadavic, has by recent studies been shown to be erroneous, and, even the River St. Croix of that map has been proven to be the present River St. Croix. Thus from every point of view, the decision of the Commission of 1798 was perfectly just, and both nations may feel entirely satisfied with the result.

We come now to the final incident in the history of the island in this period, and that concerns its ownership by the United States. The decision of the Commission fixing the St. Croix as the International Boundary, also declared its mouth to be at Joe's Point, although, as we have already seen (page 128), the true geographical mouth of the river is at Devil's Head. The reason for this decision of the commissioners is nowhere recorded, but it can be inferred from the attendant circumstances, and is implied in Benson's report on the decision, namely, it was thought best to conform to the historical usage of Champlain, making the River St. Croix include the waters around Isle St. Croix from which it took its name and by the aid of which it had been identified. Along with this, too, there was no doubt, another reason, namely, that in the Treaty of 1783 the mouth of the St. Croix was described as in the Bay of Fundy; it was no doubt felt that while Passamaquoddy Bay could be readily considered as a part of the Bay of Fundy, the part of the river between Devil's Head and Joe's Point could hardly be so viewed, and that hence a better accordance with the language of the Treaty would be secured by placing the mouth of the river officially at Joe's Point. This decision, however, had an extremely far-reaching effect upon the subsequent history of Dochet Island, for, incidentally, it assigned the island to the United States, whereas, had the commission fixed the mouth of the river at the Devil's Head, the island would to-day be a British possession. The reason why this is so may be briefly traced. The decision of the Commissioners said nothing directly about the islands in the St. Croix, but the Treaty of 1783 had declared the

boundary to be a line drawn "along the middle of the River St. Croix," and the middle line of the St. Croix lies on the east side of the island (fig. 4, also 10), hence throwing the island into the United States. On the other hand, if the decision had placed the mouth of the river at Devil's Head, then the part below, in which the island lies, would have been a part of the Bay of Fundy, since the Treaty declared the mouth of the river to be in the Bay of Fundy and recognized no other waters. But the Treaty assigned to the United States all islands within twenty leagues of its coasts lying between lines drawn due east from the mouth of the St. Croix and the mouth of St. Mary's River in Florida, "excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said Province of Nova Scotia." Now, the old charters of Nova Scotia, on which her ownership was based, had granted to her all islands within six leagues of her coasts, and this is the reason why New Brunswick, the legal successor here of Nova Scotia, possesses to-day all the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, except only Moose Island and two contiguous islets, which were in 1817 assigned to the United States chiefly on the ground of her long possession of them and in return for a partial claim she had to Grand Manan. Had the mouth of the St. Croix been fixed at Devil's Head, Dochet Island would have been in the Bay of Fundy, and, being within six leagues of the coast of New Brunswick, would to-day belong to that province.

But, although it thus fell plainly to the United States, it was not yielded without some symptoms of protest. In a manuscript draft of a letter of Ward Chipman, the British agent before the Boundary Commission, to Governor Carleton, dated July 7, 1799, we read as follows (Ms. in possession of Rev. Dr. Raymond):—

I take this opportunity further to inform your Excellency that I have received intelligence that the subjects of the United States residing on the western shores of the River St. Croix have lately taken possession of the Isle St. Croix lying in this river just within its mouth, and from which the river originally took its name. Under the construction of the 2d article of the Treaty of Peace, which I had the honour to submit to your Excellency's consideration in my letter of the 21st ulto. your Excellency will perceive that this island belongs to the United States as lying on the west side of the channel and of the dividing line between the two countries along the middle of the river from its mouth, and to the northward of a due East line from its mouth, and not therefore affected by the clauses affecting islands in this article of the treaty; but if this construction is erroneous, and the exception or reservation to His Majesty of such islands as have at any time been within the limits of the Province of Nova Scotia is to be considered as absolute and unqualified, and the clause descriptive of the islands granted to the United States is to have no effect whatever upon the exception, this island still undoubtedly belongs to his Majesty as having been at the time of the treaty of peace within those limits.

Governor Carleton transmits, the subject, somewhat perfunctorily, to the Duke of Portland in a letter of August 5, 1799, suggesting that Great Britain may still have a claim on Isle St. Croix through the general exception of islands belonging to Nova Scotia. But Chipman himself saw the subject differently soon after, for in a draft of a letter of his (Ms. in the author's possession) to Sir John Wentworth, Governor of Nova Scotia, of August 6, 1799, he says:—

. . . . This island [Isle St. Croix] tho of very trifling value, has been during the present year taken possession of by Subjects of the United States residing upon that part of the western shore of the River St. Croix which is opposite to it—altho' this island was clearly included in the original Grant of the Province of Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander and therefore was an island which "had formerly been within the limits of that Province," still I conceive that it is not saved to His Majesty by virtue of the exception in the 2d article of the Treaty of Peace, because it is not found to lie between the due east lines mentioned in that article, and therefore is not included in the Grant of the Islands upon which alone the exception can operate. The right to this island I conceive must be decided by ascertaining whether it lies on the American side of the boundary line mentioned in the Treaty of Peace "to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source," and as this island does in fact lie on the American side of such line along the middle of the river,¹ and also on the western side of the main channel of the river, and to the northward of a due east line from its mouth, if my construction of the treaty in this respect is not erroneous, it evidently belongs to the United States. . . .²

Chipman's later position seems unquestionably the correct one, and with this the subject ends. However much we may regret that this island does not belong to the country with whose history it is so closely connected, we must all agree that the title of the United States to it is perfectly clear and just.

Curiously enough there is an apparent still later British claim to the island, no longer ago than 1896, for in that year in a codification of the boundaries of New Brunswick passed by the local legislature, Doucetts Island is included within the bounds of the Parish of St. Croix in Charlotte County. This was, of course, due to some error on the part of the compilers of the Act, but it is curious that there was no one in the Legislature of New Brunswick sufficiently informed to point out the error before the Act was passed. But, in 1899 a new law was enacted to strike out the words "Doucetts Island

¹ It is fortunate that the island lies on the west of the middle of the river, as well as on the west of the deepest channel, or a controversy might have arisen over the exact significance of the word "middle" of the Treaty.

² At one time he thought the boundary line would run through the island, for in a letter of Mar. 27, 1798, (MS. in my possession) he writes to Jonathan Odell,— "My little Isle St. Croix will probably be divided between the two countries."

in the River St. Croix" from the description of the bounds of St. Croix.

3. THE MODERN HISTORY OF DOCHET ISLAND FROM THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE RIVER TO THE PRESENT,—1799—1902.

The modern history of the island began apparently with the adoption of its present name not long prior to 1796. The permanent settlement of the Passamaquoddy region had begun in 1763 with a few New England fishermen and traders, and a few settlers from various sources continued to arrive from time to time until 1784, when large numbers of loyalists settled on the British side of the St. Croix, and various settlers began to occupy the American side. But there is nothing to indicate any occupancy of Docket Island prior to 1799, and probably it was not settled, for had any settlement existed it would hardly have escaped mention in the testimony of Pagan and of Wright above cited, or some representation on Wright's map. Moreover, the implication in the letter of Ward Chipman above cited, is that American settlers were taking possession of the island for the first time in 1799.

There is no evidence known to me as to who these settlers were aside from tradition, which states that the earliest settlers on the island were one Haliker and his wife, who lived there many years, and whose graves, marked by rude unlettered stones, can now be seen near the lighthouse. It is possible, however, that Haliker and his wife were simply early residents, and not the earliest. The first residents must have been squatters, since the island was not granted until 1820. The next event in the history of the island is also supplied by tradition, namely, that at the time of the war of 1812 the island was used as a "neutral island" (hence originating the name, Neutral Island, by which it has often been known), on which the British and American vessels exchanged their cargoes of plaster. For some years prior to 1812, and for some time after, the navigation laws of one or the other nation were so constructed that British vessels could not carry plaster or other goods into the United States, nor United States vessels go to British ports for it. Consequently, the vessels had to meet and exchange cargoes, quite illegally, on certain places tacitly accepted as "neutral," and Docket Island was one of these places, probably utilized for this purpose because far removed from the customs officers who had headquarters at Eastport.¹ British

¹ A good account of these operations has been published by Sabine, reprinted in Kirby's "Eastport and Passamaquoddy."

vessels are said to have unloaded the plaster upon a wharf, traces of which are still to be seen, built for the purpose in Treats cove (Fig. 14), whence it was taken by American vessels. Tradition states that during the war time a settler named Herrick, possibly the Haliker above mentioned, lived on the island.

Soon after this time we come to authentic information. On March 1, 1820, the Commissioners of the District of Maine in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, sold to John Brewer, of Robbinston, in return for thirty dollars

"two small islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, one situated nearly opposite the dividing line between the Towns of Robbinston and Calais containing four acres more or less and commonly called the great Island; and the other containing one acre more or less lying about one mile southerly from the first mentioned Island and near to the shore of Robbinston and called the little Island." (*Washington County, Registry of Deeds, Machias, Me., Vol. 11, page 337.*)

Great Island is, of course, our Dochet. John Brewer was a prominent citizen of Robbinston, and I believe was the magistrate who took several depositions for the Boundary Commissioners. He was on the island with Pagan, July 11, 1797,² and, as one of those concerned in the discoveries on the island, it is very likely that at this time his attention was called to it, and he took the first opportunity thereafter to secure a grant of it. He did not, however, long retain it, for, on August 15, 1826

John Brewer of Robbinston, in consideration of six hundred dollars paid by Stephen Brewer of Northampton, Mass., Gentleman . . . remise release bargain sell and convey . . . an Island commonly called St. Croix Island lying in Schoodic River nearly opposite the south east corner of Calais together with the house barn and all other buildings thereon, and also the wharf and all other improvements on or about said island. (*Washington County Deeds, Vol. 17, page 11.*)

The house and other buildings were doubtless those occupied by Haliker as tenant of Brewer, and the wharf was the plaster wharf above mentioned. Why Stephen Brewer, presumably the brother of John, a prominent merchant of Northampton, Massachusetts, purchased this island we have no idea, nor can his daughters still living in Northampton explain; but it is of interest to note that he owned other parcels of land on the mainland in this region.

¹ I have not followed the ownership of Little Dochet beyond this date. Probably it still belongs to the heirs of John Brewer. It appears to be valueless. I am informed by Dr. Howard Vose, of Calais, that the diary of Richard V. Hayden, a noted surveyor of this region, contains the following entry, April 17, 1823:—"Surveyed Big Island for Gen'l Brewer . . . contents about 6 acres." Of course he would have made a map, which would be of great interest if it could be found.

² See earlier, page 201.

We now come to some information, which, although resting upon tradition alone, is yet reliable since it comes within the memory of a still living witness. There is now (September, 1902) living at Red Beach, Maine, Mr. George Mingo, over 80 years of age but in possession of all his faculties, who, in early boyhood lived with his parents upon the island, and has known it intimately ever since. From him I have derived much information about the recent history of the island. The earliest owner he remembers was Stephen Brewer, and hence he must have lived there between 1826 and 1830. There were at that time on the island four buildings, standing where the old cellars¹ now are, at the south-western angle (Fig. 14), all occupied or used by his family. There was much cleared land and many signs of earlier settlement in fruit trees and bushes. The ruins of the old French settlement were clearly visible as was the place on the bluff where cannon had been placed. The Chapel Nubble was then united with the main island and a large pine tree stood upon it. Every summer there came to the island from the Penobscot River, four fishermen, named Black, Treat, Noble and Sanburn, who lived with the Mingo family and tended the six salmon weirs of which they had charge and from which many fish were taken. There were stages for the curing of fish here also, and, in fact, although the residents of the island did some gardening, fishing was the chief interest which took them to the island. Somewhere after 1830, perhaps considerably later, the Mingo family removed from the island. It is doubtless to this family Williamson refers in 1839 in his *History of Maine* (Vol. I., 189), when he says of the island: "Its soil is fertile, and it is usually the residence of one family." After the Mingo family left it, there was for a time a resident named Treat, and later another named Chase. Later, one Thompson kept there a sort of public house of low repute, to which people resorted from Calais and elsewhere. These two latter residents gradually burnt up the older buildings for wood; they remained but a year or two, and then there were no more residents on the island until the lighthouse was built. For some time after this, however, the residents of the mainland used to remove from the island scow-loads of sand for building purposes, and this has contributed to the diminution in size of the lower end of the island and the separation of the smaller nubble from the

¹ There are some other cellars on the island (Fig. 14), that south of the lighthouse probably belonging to Haliker's house. Other hollows on the island have a different origin, that north-east of the lighthouse being a pit from which sand was taken in erecting the buildings, and others being holes dug by money-hunters who have left such traces in most of the prominent places in this region.

main island. In 1847, or thereabouts, Admiral Owen used the island as a station in making his survey of this region for the British Admiralty, the survey on which our present charts are based. He cut down many of the trees on the island to open lines of sight for his instruments, doing much to destroy the fine woods which Mr. Mingo remembers to have occupied most of the island in his early boyhood.

We come now to a new and important chapter in the history of the island. On June 4, 1856, the heirs of Stephen Brewer of Northampton, Massachusetts, sold to the United States of America, for the sum of one hundred and thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents

a certain Message situated on Neutral or St. Croix Island, so called, in the St. Croix River opposite the Plaster Mills at Red Beach in Calais. . . . Two undivided third parts of the northerly half of the Island aforesaid, beginning on the westerly shore of said island at a rock marked with a cross at high water mark, thence running south sixty-three degrees east¹ across the said island to the eastern shore of the same where there is a marked stake at high water mark, thence northerly westerly and southerly by the shore of said island to the place of beginning, containing two and a half acres of upland, more or less, with the beach and flats pertaining to the said northern half, meaning to convey to the said United States two undivided third parts of the above described premises. . . .²

(*Washington County Deeds, Vol. 86, page 27.*)

Thus, the larger part of the island passed into the possession of the United States, by whom it was bought for the erection of a light station. This station was established the next year (1857). The full records of the station are, of course, preserved in the archives of the Lighthouse Board at Washington, and through the courtesy of the Engineer-Secretary in charge I am enabled to cite the following facts. The first keeper was Elias Barber (December 15, 1856—August, 1859). The light was discontinued August 1, 1859,³ and

¹ The position of the mark is not known exactly, nor is the line marked.

² The British Chart of 1837, and some other maps, mark a lighthouse on the American shore below Docket Island, and I supposed the Docket light was established to replace it, but I am informed by the U. S. Lighthouse Board that this was not the case. I know nothing of the shore station. Among the papers cited by the Lighthouse Board is a letter of 1853 from a captain who says "A lighthouse upon this [Big, viz., Docket] Island is very necessary as the many vessels wrecked upon it abundantly prove." I have no information about these wrecks.

³ An interesting reference to the Island at this time is given by WILLIS in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. XV., 1861, p. 212: "This island is now called Neutral Island. . . . It has a lighthouse upon it, with a house for the keeper; is well covered with grass, and has some old fruit trees, apple and cherry, upon it. I took from it, in the summer of 1860, some pieces of French bricks, of which there are many fragments remain-

re-established in October, 1869, since which time the keepers have been,—Jacob F. Young (November 10, 1869—December 17, 1875), Harrison Keen (January 11, 1876—April 28, 1880), and Joseph Huckins, appointed May 4, 1880, and now in charge, an efficient and popular official. The lantern carrying a white light flashing every thirty seconds is built upon the keeper's house, and is 74 feet above the sea. Long may it shine for the guidance of good mariners!

Not long after the erection of the lighthouse an attempt was made to re-name the island. The only account of the ceremony known to me is contained in a footnote in Godfrey's "Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bangor," Bangor, 1870, page 20, which reads as follows:

This has been called Neutral Island, and Dosquet's Island. The "Congressional Voyagers" in the U.S. Cutter Mahoning, along the coast of Maine, in 1868, having with them Mr. Hilgard, of the U. S. Coast Survey, and several gentlemen of the Maine Historical Society, voted that the island be hereafter called Demont's Island, at the same time giving the proper salute.

The history of this abortive name has been mentioned earlier in this paper (page 145).

The sale of a part of the island to the United States in 1856 left the remainder still in possession of the heirs of Stephen Brewer. On May 5, 1869, however, they

in consideration of one hundred dollars paid by Charles H. Newton, Joseph A. Lee, Herbert Barnard and Benj. F. Kelley remise release and forever quit claim the southerly part of Big Island so called in St. Croix River, beginning at a mark (x) in the ledge in a small cove on the westerly side of the island near highwater mark thence running S. 63° E about 22 rods across the island to a marked birch tree on the easterly bank or shore of the island, thence following the shore southerly westerly and northerly around the southerly part of the Island to the mark in the ledge containing three acres of upland more or less with the beach and flats pertaining to the same—meaning to convey all that part of Big Island so called not heretofore conveyed to the United States of America to the said Newton etc. (*Washington County Deeds, Vol. 122, page 162.*)

In the possession of these purchasers, or of their heirs, the property now stands. It is well known locally that their object in acquiring the island was to make of it a summer resort, but nothing was done toward this end beyond stopping the injury done it by the removal of sand. In this unimproved condition it remains at this day, a pasture for the light-keeper's cow, and a picnic ground for all who care to use it.

ing." I may add that visitors still (1902) take away fragments of "French brick" to such an extent, as the lightkeeper informs me, that he cannot keep brick on the island to repair his chimneys!

We have but one more event in the island's history to record. In 1885, during the careful survey of this region made by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the island and its surroundings were carefully surveyed, and the resultant map of the island, reproduced by the kind permission of the Director of the Survey, is given

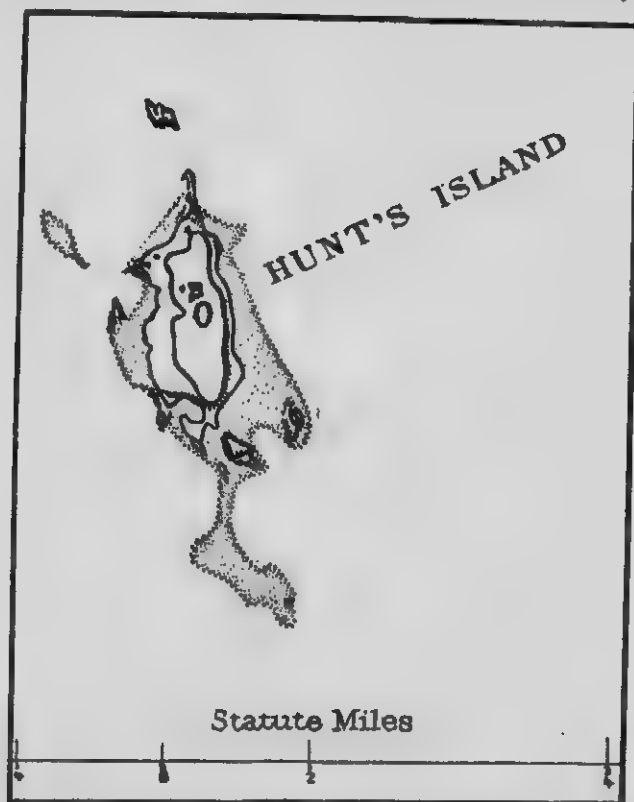


FIG. 13.—The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Island, 1885. From the original MS. sheet in the Archives of the Survey; original size. From this the map of Fig. 4 was constructed.

herewith (Fig. 13). As earlier explained (page 146), the origin of the name Hunt's Island applied to it is not known, nor has the name persisted.

The present condition of the island is represented in large part upon the accompanying map (Fig. 14), and more fully by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 15-24), all of which were taken by the author in September, 1902, except No. 15, which was taken a few years ago.

Such is the history of Dochet Island, and its state at the present day.

4. THE FUTURE TO BE DESIRED FOR DOCHET ISLAND.

The future of the part of the island owned by the United States is assured; it will remain perpetually the property of the government, and continue to support the light station, which is here both indispensable and admirably placed. For the remainder, however, still in private hands, there are two possible futures, aside of course, from remaining in its present condition, which cannot continue indefinitely. First, it will be bought by some person of means who will build there a summer home, and then it will cease to be open to all as now, and the public will have a right to visit this part of the historic island only by courtesy of the owner. Indeed, an attempt has already been made, but so far unsuccessfully, by a prominent former officer of the United States Government to secure it for such a purpose. Second, it could be purchased by the State of Maine as a part of a park system ultimately intended to preserve for the free use, enjoyment and instruction of the public, all places of great historic, scenic or other unusual interest in the State. Certainly it would be a misfortune if even a part of the island in whose history so many feel a deep interest, and which, by that very fact, becomes in a measure the property of all, should be closed against the free access of all who desire to visit it. It is a good thing for a people to take pride in their history, and this they do the more if they can study it freely upon the actual sites of their historic events, and surrounded by the charm which always hovers over places which have witnessed historic scenes. It would be an enlightened and public-spirited, and as well a profitable, act for the State of Maine to take over and care for this place as a contribution to the higher life and to the education of the people of the State, of the Union, of America. At no large expense it could be acquired, beautified by the planting of trees, and preserved against farther loss from the waves, and an understanding could no doubt be effected with the United States Government for the improvement of the entire island. The Maine Historical Society would be its natural custodian or guardian, and could most properly initiate this movement. Further than this, there should be erected upon the island a suitable monument stating the chief facts in its history and indicating the principal historic spots upon it. This, indeed, need not wait for the consummation of the larger plan, but could well be undertaken by the Maine and New Brunswick Historical Societies jointly. And there could be no more appropriate time for its dedication than the ter-centennial of the discovery of the island on June 26, 1904.

It would be a marked day in the history of Maine and New Brunswick, if, on that three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the island, the representatives of the two historical societies and the people of the river could meet upon the island, and, with dignified and appropriate ceremonies, dedicate at one and the same time the island to the free use of the people forever, and a graceful monument recording the events and commemorating the persons prominent in its history. May the wish prove a prophecy !

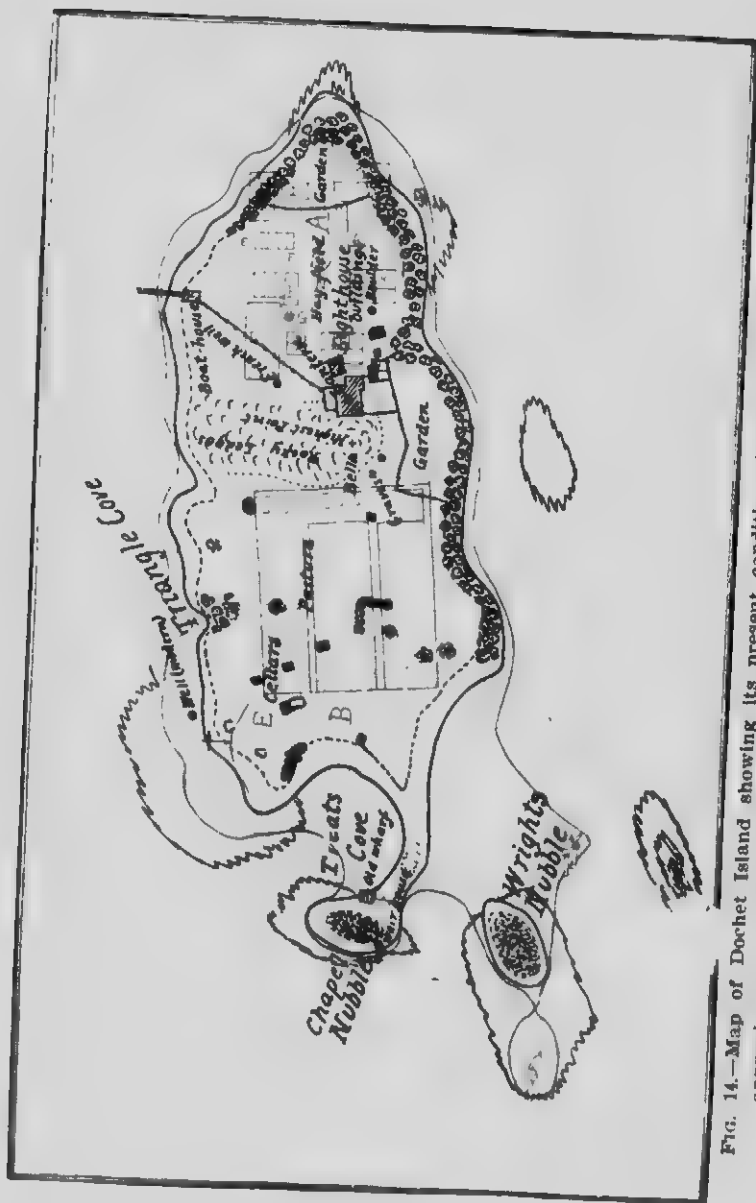


FIG. 14.—Map of Dohet Island showing its present condition (in black), in comparison with its approximate features in the time of de Monts and Champlain (in red). The lettering on the red map corresponds with that on Champlain's maps (Figs. 8 and 9).

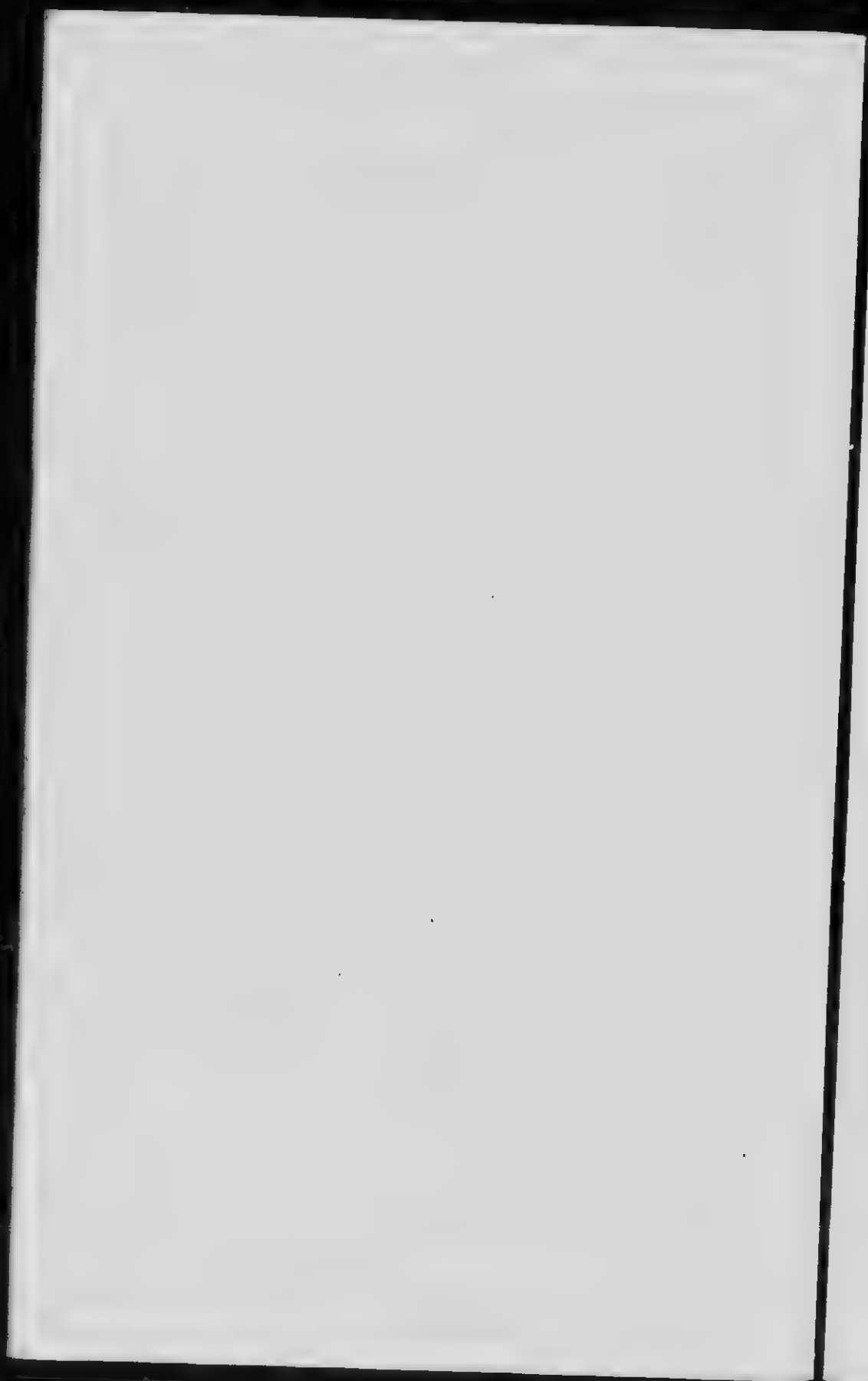




FIG. 15.—Distant view of Dohet Island looking down the river from near Oak Point. Beyond, on the right, may be seen Little Dohet and the American shore, while nearer is the Devils Head (with Hotel de Monts) and the river leading up to Calais and St. Stephen. On the left is the Canadian shore with Chamecook and Greenlaw in the distance, and, nearer, the entrance to Oak Bay. (Taken in 1898 or 1899.)



FIG. 16.—Nearer view of the Island, looking up the river. The westerly slope of the island is plain, and Wright's Nubble is conspicuous in the centre. On the left is the American shore, with the prominent Devils Head; on the right is the Canadian shore with McLaughlin's Mountain nearest, and Leighton's Mountain, on the right of which lies the Wawelg, in the distance.

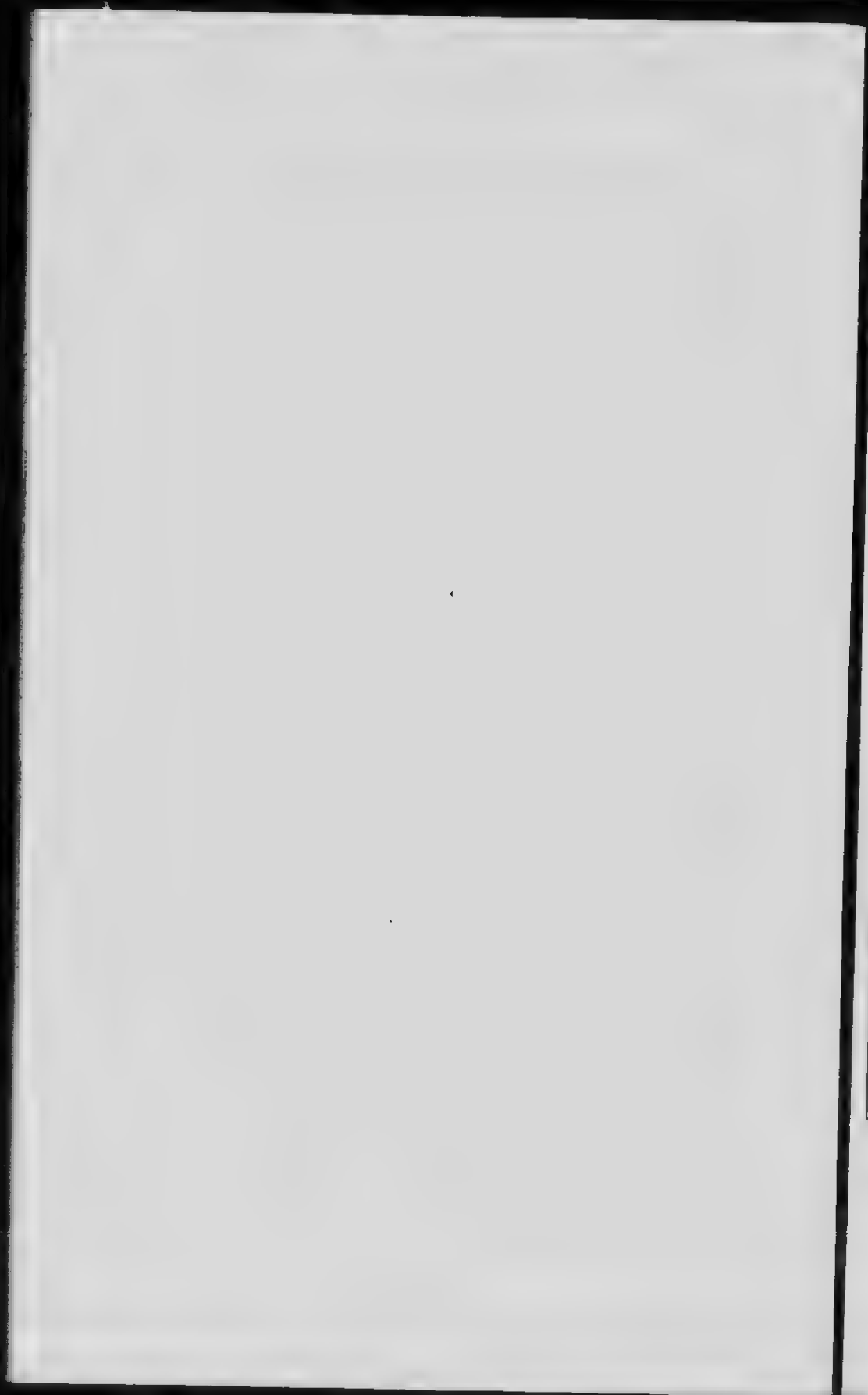




FIG. 17.—View of the Island from the north, at high tide, showing its westerly slope. The Light-station is in the centre, and the boathouse on the right. The settlement of de Monts was between the Light-station and the bank in the foreground.

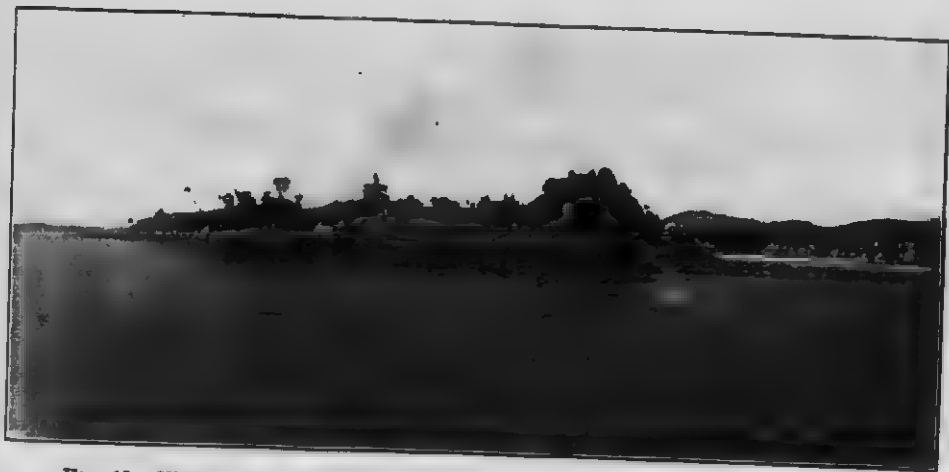


FIG. 18.—View of the Island from the south, showing the Light-station, the sandy bluffs forming the southern end of the main island, and the two nubbles, the Chapel Nubble, with the weir-house, on the left, and Wright's Nubble on the right. The gardens of de Monts were between the Light-station and the sandy bluffs.

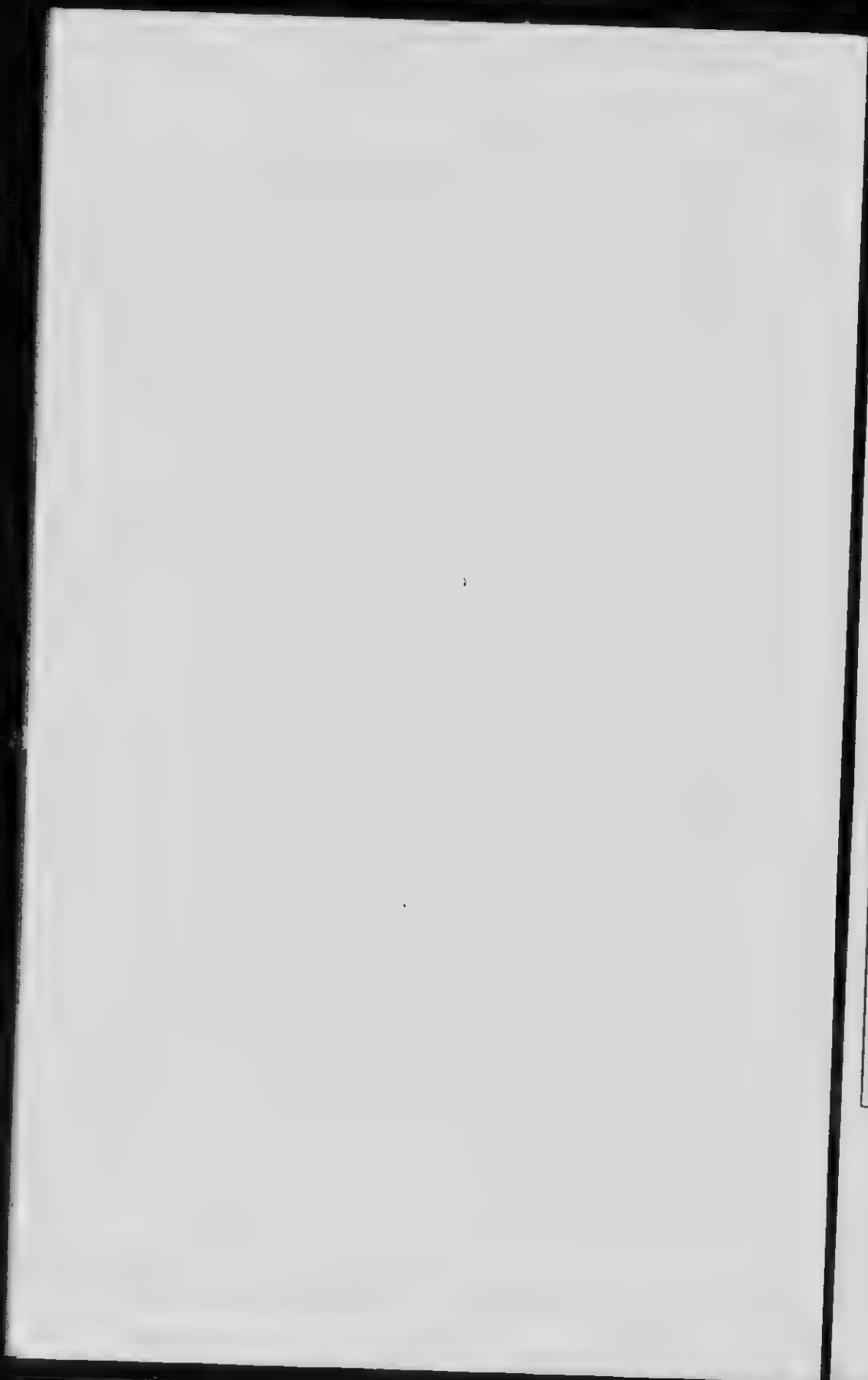




FIG. 19.—View of the Island from the east, at half tide, wanting, however, the northern end. De Monts' settlement was to the right of the Light-station, and the gardens to the left. At the extreme left is the sandy bluff and the Chapel Nubble.



FIG. 20.—View of the Island from the west (southwest), above half tide, De Monts' settlement stood to the left of the Light-station, which is on a ridge of rock, and the gardens were on the level land on its right. Farther to the right may be seen the sandy bluffs, and the two nubbles (overlapping one another), while beyond these rises the Greenlaw-Chamcook mountain.



FIG. 21.—View from the extreme northern end of the Island looking south to the Light-station across the site of the settlement of de Monts, which covered the grassy field in the foreground. Beyond is the American shore.



FIG. 22.—View from the Light-station looking north across the site of the settlement of de Monts, which occupied the field in the foreground, especially the level portion on the right. Beyond one looks up Oak Bay; in the centre rises Leighton's Mountain, to the right of which runs the Waweig, and to the right of that is McLauchlan's Mountain.

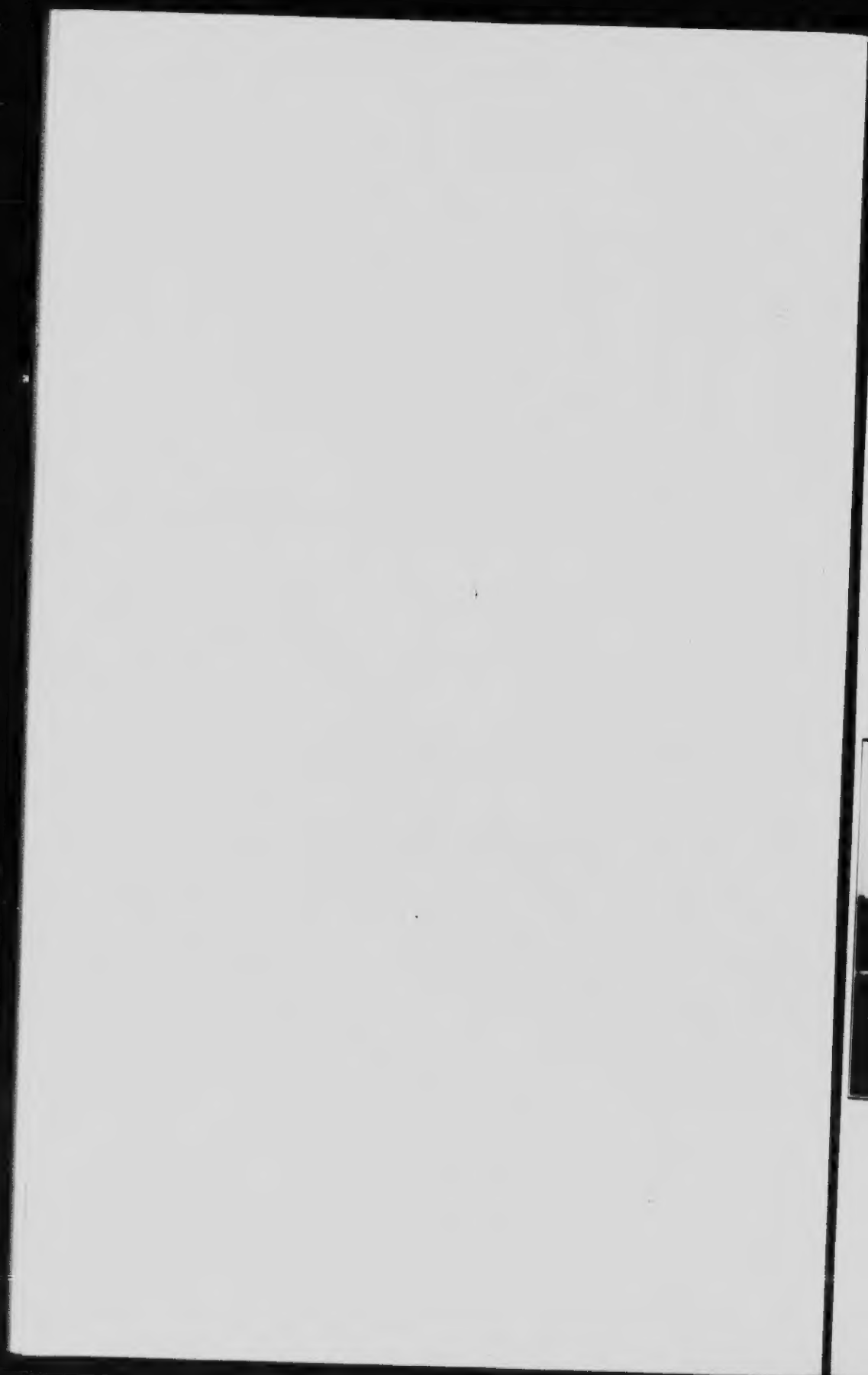




FIG. 23.—View from the Light-station southward across the site of the gardens of de Monts, now a pasture. In the distance lies Little Nubble, with the American shore beyond; nearer is seen Wright's Nubble, and on the right the group of trees crowning the Chapel Nubble. On the extreme right, the two trees mark the edge of the hill on which the cemetery was placed in 1604, now almost entirely washed away.



FIG. 24.—View from the southeast angle of the Island, looking southwest. Wright's Nubble on its rocky ledge is on the left, and beyond it are the extensive ledges visible at low tide; on the right are the sandy bluffs, and beyond is the Chapel Nubble, with the weir house. In the distance is the American shore.